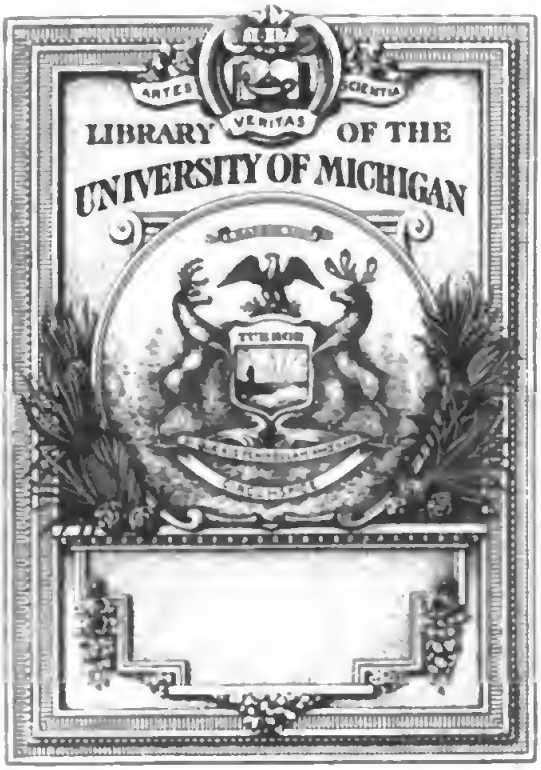
A 542792



THE GIFT OF
Tappan Presb. Assoc.

IS
207
F73

THE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ARABIA;

OR,

THE PATRIARCHAL EVIDENCES OF REVEALED RELIGION:

A MEMOIR,

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE MAPS;

AND

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING TRANSLATIONS, WITH AN ALPHABET AND GLOSSARY, OF

THE HAMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS

RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN HADRAMAUT.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D.

ONE OF THE SIX PREACHERS IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST, CANTERBURY;
AND RECTOR OF STISTED, ESSEX:

AUTHOR OF "MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED."

They call their lands after their own names.—*Psalm* xlix. 11.

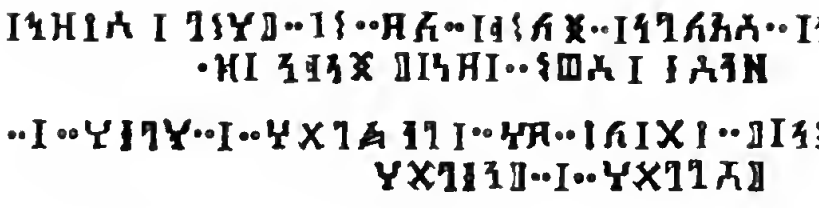
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

DUNCAN AND MALCOLM, 37. PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXLIV.



Over us presided kings far removed from baseness,
And stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men:
And they noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber, good judgments, written in a book, to be kept;
And we believed in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

Adite inscription, engraven on the rock at Hisn Ghordb.

Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book!
That they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever!
For I know that my Redeemer liveth; and that He shall stand, at the latter day, upon the earth:
And though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet, in my flesh, shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.

Job.

London:
Printed by A. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

S. 2.

Gift
Toppan Prize Class
4-9-1932

TO

HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MY LORD,

In submitting the following pages to Your Grace's censure and indulgence (and to whom can the fruits of Oriental studies be inscribed more appropriately, than to the venerated successor of their first and most illustrious patron in this country?) I would avail myself of the privilege of again publicly addressing you, to say a few words upon the origin and design of the work itself, as well as upon some results most unexpectedly arrived at, during its progress through the press.

The present work, like that on the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, was commenced under the auspices of Bishop Jebb; and, like it also, has been brought to its close, and before

the public, under Your Grace's countenance and protection. It was with feelings which they alone are competent to understand, who have known what it is to possess a friend "closer than a brother," that, within the last two years, I resumed the prosecution of researches, which (under Providence) had contributed to preserve the elasticity of the mind during the last years of that friend's long and great affliction, and which had been interrupted only by his last illness and death.

The interest and importance of the subject became first known to myself, from lights obtained in the prosecution of a more limited inquiry, essential to the argument of a former publication. The idea and plan of the present work originated in the favourable reception experienced from those to whose judgment it was my duty to defer, as well as from the public at large, by the proofs of the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, in the Appendix to "Mahometanism Unveiled." For, if infidelity could be silenced, and revealed truth vindicated, by exact scrutiny, at a single point, into the Mosaic accounts of the origin of the Arab tribes, . . . it was clear that the most valuable results might justly be anticipated from exact scrutiny into

those accounts on an extended scale, and as comprizing the patriarchal origin of all the primitive tribes of Arabia.

How far the anticipation is realized in these volumes, it will be for others to determine. For the present, I shall venture only to observe to Your Grace, that, whatever weight may have been allowed to my former argument on that head, in the following Memoir, and its illustrative maps, the proof of the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael is further certified and enlarged by the recovery of all the chief Ishmaelitish tribes, both in the classical and in the modern geography of the Arabian peninsula, upon the same ground which they occupied in the days of Moses, and which they continue to occupy in our own: while the application of the same process of investigation to the four great patriarchal stocks, who, according to Moses, together with Ishmael peopled the peninsula, has conducted us to precisely similar results; the families of Cush and Joktan, who preceded, and those of Keturah and Esau, who followed, the son of Hagar, proving all to be extant, in the ancient and modern geography of the country, in the very localities, and along the very lines, where they are placed by "Moses and the Prophets."

If the first part of the work, which is confined exclusively to the elucidation of Scripture history, may seem more peculiarly within the province of the historian or the divine, the second part, which is devoted wholly to the classical geography of Arabia, cannot be without interest for the man of science. In this portion of the Memoir, indeed, (far more, I will freely confess, from regard to its collateral bearings on the Scripture evidences, than for the sake of mere science,) no labour has been spared, and no research omitted, which promised either to correct our old lights, or to furnish new. In both cases, many of the results arrived at rest on proofs, for which it would be false humility to ask indulgence, since they amount to physical demonstration.

In the necessary attention, in a work like that now laid before Your Grace, to the demands of theology and science, I have endeavoured, at least, constantly to bear in mind those of the more general reader. The just interpretation of "the Scriptures of truth" is alike important and interesting to all; and no opportunity (and they have been good and many) has been consciously allowed to escape of throwing light upon the sacred Volume. In this aim I was peculiarly

aided by the nature of my subject: the fresh lights constantly springing up in the course of which set many clear places of Scripture in yet clearer day; while they reflected, now on one obscure passage, now on another, a brightness, otherwise unattainable, and before unknown. This remark peculiarly applies to some of the most interesting episodes of the Old and New Testaments, ... the stories of Job, of Jethro, of the Queen of Sheba, ... the site of Ophir, ... the country and Abrahamic origin of the Gospel Magi: points, most of which have long and largely engaged the attention, and divided the opinions, of the commentators, without their collective labours conducting the general reader to any satisfactory conclusion. That all or any of these most interesting topics are now brought to such a conclusion, it would be presumptuous in me to affirm. But thus much, I trust, I may unpresumptuously venture to say, that, by the lights called into play in the progress of this inquiry, they are, one and all, set in a clearer view than any they have known before.

When I first commenced investigations, undertaken with the sole object of illustrating, and bringing home to the minds of others and to my own, by proofs actually existing in Arabia, the

truth of the Mosaic accounts of the first peopling of Arabia, and consequently that of the Mosaic accounts of the first peopling of the world, ... I little could have anticipated that the inquiry would issue in the decypherment of an unknown alphabet, and the recovery of a lost language: that alphabet, the celebrated *Musnad*, which was known to Pocock himself only by the vague and erroneous report of Mahometan writers, and whose total disappearance was deplored, by Sir William Jones, as the great gap between us and the earliest records of mankind; this language, the once famous, and long-lost "tongue of Hamyar."

What, from circumstances, is comparatively new to me, has been doubtless long familiar to Your Grace, that, within the last ten years, when all hope of such discoveries seemed utterly at an end, through the medium of our surveying expeditions along the Arabian coasts, and by the enterprize and intelligence of officers of our Indian navy, inscriptions in unknown characters were discovered on the southern coast, both carved upon the stones of ancient buildings, and engraven in the native rocks. From the ruins of Nakab el Hajar, and from the rock of Hisn Ghoráb, (localities of Hadramáut, situated, the

former about 2° 40′, the latter about 3°, north-east of Aden,) copies of these monuments were transcribed with extraordinary care, and transmitted for examination both to India and Europe. Immediately on their reaching England, the inscriptions, it appears, were forwarded to Germany, there to be submitted to the inspection of its two most eminent Orientalists, Professors Gesenius and Roediger. Both have since written upon the subject, (the latter elaborately, first, in a learned paper in the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Göttingen, 1837," and, subsequently, in his "Versuch über die Himjaritischen Schriftmonumente, Halle, 1841,") and have favoured the world with the results of their respective examinations. So far as regards the long, or ten-line inscription at Hisn Ghoráb (on the face of it by far the most important of the monuments yet recovered), the joint amount of these results, on their own showing, would seem to be, that the late Professor Gesenius conceived that he found in it the words "King of the Himyarites," and that Professor Roediger has published, what he thinks a translation of the first lines and the last, fairly giving up the middle, as wrapt in impenetrable darkness. So far, however, in reality, are these learned Orientalists from having effected even thus much, that (with the exception of one happy conjecture, subse-

quently abandoned by its author,) not a single word, scarcely here and there a letter, of the original inscription has been decyphered by their joint labours.

The facts of the discoveries made by the officers of the Palinurus, and of these German essays towards their interpretation, became first known to me in the summer of 1843; duties and engagements beyond my control, having suspended the prosecution of my work on Arabia, and withdrawn my attention wholly from the subject for the last ten years. Honouring true learning, wherever found, I still could not suppress a feeling of jealous concern for our national honour; a sense of somewhat painful regret, that any but British learning should be judged needful to unveil the mysterious monuments of Arabian antiquity first brought to light by British enterprize, . . . that an interpreter should not be sought and found within the walls of our own venerable seats of learning, above all, in the University of Pocock and of Sir William Jones. With this feeling I took up the unknown inscriptions, and, finding them beyond my interpretation, with this feeling I had laid them down, . . . when, turning once more, for materials for my own work, to the "Historia Imperii vetustissimi Joktanidorum"

of H. A. Schultens, . . . in his "Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ" (a tract so rare in this country as not to be found even in the library of the British Museum), which fortunately happened to be bound up with my copy of that work, I opened upon a title and monument, which instantly struck me, from the equal length of the two documents, and the apparent identity of their locality, to be an Arabic version of the ten-line inscription at Hisn Ghoráb.

The steps by which what had been, at first, only a probable conjecture, became advanced, gradually, from conjecture to conviction, and, again, from the conviction of my own mind, to the power of demonstrating the soundness of that conviction to others, . . . together with my grounds for assigning to these wonderful remains a date of 3500 years (nearly three centuries prior to the Books of Moses), the age of Jacob and Joseph, or within 500 years of the Flood, . . . will be found in Section vii. of the first part of the Memoir, and in the Appendix.

But it is not the antiquity of these monuments, however high, which constitutes their true value: it is the precious central truths of revealed religion which they record, and which they have

handed down from the first ages of the post-diluvian world, that raise them above all price. Viewed in this aspect, they strike at the very root of scepticism, and leave not even his own hollow ground beneath the feet of the unbeliever. For, if what the infidel vainly would bring into question as originating with Christianity, stands here registered as the primeval faith of mankind, there is an end, at once, to the idle sophistry of unbelief. According to the universal consent of Arabian tradition, the doctrine of the Resurrection was always an article of faith among the ancient Arabs. But, although their belief in this great Gospel truth (however clouded and obscured by the ignorance of Pagan superstition) could not fairly be questioned, still our impression of the bare fact of this belief, derived as it was solely from Mahometan authorities, remained necessarily vague and unsatisfying. The creed which left the camel to perish with hunger by his master's grave, that he might rise again with him for that master's use, while it bore some faint witness to the truth, seemed altogether too low to sustain a reasonable hope in the glorious doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. The inscription on the rock of Hisn Ghoráb, *a contemporary witness* of the faith of the most ancient of the old Arabians, changes the state of things:

placing beyond the cavils of scepticism itself, at once, the fact and the purity of *their* belief in the scriptural doctrine of the Resurrection; and presenting *to the eye* this great Gospel truth (to borrow the noble language of Mr. Burke) "covered with the awful hoar of innumerable ages."

No words of mine could describe to Your Grace the sensation of mind awakened by the first certainty arrived at, that all my antecedent conjectures, in the text of the present work, respecting this inscription, were correct; that *it is* the original, whence was rendered into modern Arabic the poetical inscription in ten couplets, published by Schultens in his "Monumenta;" that this original is a contemporary record of the famous lost tribe of Ad; and that, instead of an obscure chronicle of the private undertakings, the Pagan devotions, the intestine divisions, and the struggles against their warlike neighbours the Homerites, of a set of *Abyssinian* adventurers (as we are taught to expect by its German interpreter), we possess, in this Aditc monument, a magnificent ode, rivalling, in the loftiness of its flights and suddeness of its falls, the winged muse of Pindar; combining with the majesty of Milton the consummate skill of Pope; and embodying,

amidst its graphical and glowing descriptions of the luxury and splendour, the pursuits and pastimes, the very dress and carriage of the ancient Adites, . . . the most precious truths of patriarchal revelation; the doctrine of miracles, the doctrine of the Resurrection, the doctrine of the life to come! What Job, in a word, (who, living in the opposite quarter of Arabia amidst the sands of the great northern desert, had no lasting material within reach on which to perpetuate his thoughts,) what Job so earnestly desired stands here realized. Nor may it be too much to conjecture, that his acquaintance with the existence of this Adite monument (for, in those early times, the habits of emigration had familiarized to men the knowledge of the most distant parts and occurrences,) may have given birth to the wish, with which the prophet-patriarch of "the land of Uz" prefaces his evangelic confession of faith. One thing, at least, is certain, that by tracing the wish which introduces that confession to this source, the abruptness of the apostrophe, and the origin and train of his thoughts, will be found to stand alike beautifully cleared: . . . "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! that [like the kindred creed of the lost tribe of Ad] they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever! [For mine is a

better and brighter revelation than their's.] . . . For I know that MY REDEEMER liveth; and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet, in my flesh, shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another!"

The importance of these Adite evidences of revealed religion can be adequately estimated only when we reflect, that, in the history of mankind, they stand alone: that no similar *contemporary* record of patriarchal faith, and primeval revelation, is in existence. The Books of Moses themselves, owing to the perishable nature of the material on which they were originally inscribed, and have been subsequently copied, are preserved only in manuscripts, the oldest, probably, of not more than twelve or fifteen centuries standing. Had we still in existence "the two tables of the testimony," of which we have this record, . . . "and the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables," . . . even they could add nothing to the blessed certainty of our faith. Yet how unspeakably (judging by man's judgment) must it not augment the satisfaction and enjoyment of the believing mind, to possess and look upon

what it knew to have been traced, not by the pen of man, but by the finger of his Maker! Next to this kind of satisfaction, at however infinite a distance, is that conveyed by these Adite monuments. We now may know, in their own handwriting, *what* the earliest post-diluvian men and nations thought, and felt, and believed, not merely about this life, . . . but about God; about religion; about "miracles, the resurrection, and the life to come." As I have already said, such knowledge can add nothing, indeed, to the blessed certainty of our faith: but (if I may at all judge the experience of others by my own) it may add not a little to our consciousness and enjoyment of all that, as Christians, we confess, hold fast, and cherish; since, in a subordinate sense, *sight* is here added to that faith by which we walk. Such knowledge can add nothing to "the full assurance of faith:" it ranks (if I may be allowed the expression) not as a necessary, but as a luxury superadded to that full assurance: where no such proof was needed, it still *is* a fresh proof (and an Apostle himself thought fresh proofs desirable) "that we have not followed cunningly devised fables."

If I may resume briefly the evidences here in question, and hereafter more fully to be laid

before Your Grace, their amount is this: in the Adite monument at Hisn Ghoráb stands registered the incontrovertible fact, that the oldest monument in the world contains, at once, the fullest, and the purest declaration of the great central truth of the Gospel: "He preached unto them Jesus, AND THE RESURRECTION." What we before knew by faith, stands here unveiled to sense; and whatever questions may still be raised, by "the evil spirit of unbelief," against that faith by which we stand, there can be no longer any, THAT IT WAS THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF MANKIND.

The future results, which promise to arise from the clue obtained through the inscriptions already decyphered, are beyond all calculation. As we know, on the best authority, that *numerous inscriptions* have been seen or heard of, by the same officers to whose enterprize and intelligence their country is already so deeply indebted, along the entire coasts of Hadramáut and Yemen, ... it is impossible to say what amount of information, from the earliest annals of mankind, may not now be open to us: and all, happily, within our reach; for the vehicle of that information is no longer a sealed mystery; and Aden (in all ages the master-key to southern

Arabia) is a British possession. In the body of my work I had ventured to express a hope, that the Indian Government, already so exemplary in its attention to objects of this nature, would follow up its meritorious exertions, until every one of those inscriptions shall be secured, and given to the world. This hope, I have now the great satisfaction to acquaint Your Grace, bids fair to be realized from another high quarter. From a gentleman officially connected with that quarter, and whose scientific eminence must give due weight to any recommendation proceeding from him, without any step taken on my part, on the first rumour of the discoveries already made reaching him incidentally, I have received the voluntary offer of steps being taken to secure every facility afforded by our naval force along the Arabian coasts, for the recovery and transmission home of all inscriptions within reach, the sites of which I may have it in my power to indicate, to be placed unreservedly in my hands for examination and decypherment.

In the discoveries already effected, and in these volumes about to be submitted to Your Grace, I have examined the ground before me at every step, and found it sure. The Aditic inscription and its key (which it was my good

fortune to recover in Schultens) have been identified with each other throughout, word for word, as original and translation. And I may venture to state, without risk of effective contradiction, that in the inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb are restored to the world its oldest characters and language; that that language is inscribed upon a monument more durable than brass or marble ... the living rock ... which has withstood the storms of thirty-five centuries; and that this monument contains, "graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock for ever," an anticipated Gospel in the primeval religion of mankind.

In bringing these discoveries before Your Grace, it became indispensable to allude to the attempts of preceding inquirers. In so alluding, no reflection, however, is meant, or could justly be made, upon the failure of others: for, after the accomplishment of the seemingly hopeless task, I must in candour express my conviction (a conviction decisively borne out by the fruitless efforts of the first Orientalists of Europe), that, without the key unconsciously supplied by Schultens, no sagacity of mind, or skill in languages, could have availed. If mine has been better fortune, under Providence I owe that better fortune wholly to this master-key. Nor

have the efforts of my learned predecessors in this inquiry, although unsuccessful, been without their use. To the first essays of Professor Roediger, in particular, we owe two happy and just verifications: namely, 1. that the first word of the great Hisn Ghorâb inscription should be read *Sumak*, and rendered "We dwelt;" and 2. "that the monument is one of persons speaking of themselves in the first person plural." His subsequent relinquishment of the former of these verifications, however to be regretted on his own account, does not detract in the least degree from the merit of the remarks themselves; nor from their value, both as indexes, so far as they go, to the tenor of the inscription, and as independent vouchers for the relationship between it and the Arabic poetical inscription published by Schultens, as original and translation.

In tendering the acknowledgments due, in justice no less than in courtesy, to a learned foreigner, I am reminded of my own obligations, in more than one quarter, for facilities afforded me in the progress of this work. To the authorities at the India-House I am indebted for the perusal of the MS. Journal of the route of Captain Sadleir (the only European who has accomplished the journey) across the Arabian

peninsula from Katiff to Yembo; and for the loan of that of Captain Haines of the Indian navy, designed to illustrate his survey of part of the southern coast; together with Mr. Cruttenden's MS. transcript of the Hisn Ghoráb inscriptions, which proved of the highest value, both as independent evidence for the general correctness of Mr. Wellsted's published copy, and as sure authority for its rectification, in several minute, but highly-important particulars. To R. J. Murchison, Esq., F.R.S., President, and to W. R. Hamilton, Esq., F.R.S., ex-President, of the Royal Geographical Society, as well as to the Society itself, I am under special obligation, for the courtesy experienced (through the kind intervention of my friend Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart.) from those gentlemen, during the recess of the Council, in granting the use of the Society's vignette-plate of the ruins of Nakab el Hajar, with permission to republish it in my work. To Mr. Murray of Albemarle Street, I have elsewhere expressed my thanks for a similar permission, with regard to his plate of the inscriptions at Hisn Ghoráb. Nor, in thus acknowledging courtesies already received, can I be forgetful of those freely proffered. To Captain Beaufort, R.N., F.R.S., Hydrographer to the Board of Admiralty, I would convey my acknowledgments,

for the zeal for truth and science, which led him voluntarily to offer his influence and services in every way, which could promote the complete recovery of all the inscriptional antiquities of Southern Arabia within reach from the coasts. I may be permitted, also, to commemorate, what it is no longer in my power to acknowledge, the public-spirited courtesy of the late Captain Horsburgh, I. N., experienced ten years ago.

If, without presuming too far on Your Grace's condescending kindness, I might venture to express my sense of one obligation more, it would be in acknowledgment of the most valuable critical suggestion, . . . a suggestion placing the subject of my work at large in the most advantageous light, . . . which I have received in its entire progress.

In the construction of the Appendix, and of the alphabet and glossary annexed to it, where the subject-matter was of a nature so important to revealed truth, I have judged it right to consult, not merely the convenience of Orientalists, but the accommodation of classical scholars. With this view, my remarks and explanations are so framed, and, in the case of the great Hisn Ghoráb inscription, the definitions, both of the

Hamyaritic words, and of the words of the Arabic version, are given so fully, as to empower every intelligent reader of Latin to collate the two documents, and to judge for himself.

In the progress of knowledge, as in the events of life, the more we observe and reflect, the more we must become sensible how much belongs to an unseen agency, how little can be traced to the providence of man. The reflection is brought home to my mind in the present instance, by the remembrance that to the seemingly slight circumstance of a separate tract of Schultens' being bound up with my copy of his historical collection, under Providence are wholly owing discoveries, which have broken upon my own view so recently, that I can as yet scarcely realize the consciousness that they are made, and here given to the world. This reflection is strengthened by another circumstance, equally beyond human calculation or control: . . . the involuntary and unavoidable suspension of my work on Arabia, when it had advanced far towards completion, several years *before* the discoveries of Messrs. Wellsted, Cruttenden, and Hulton had taken place, in order to its being resumed (without any knowledge on my part of the fact of those discoveries), at a period when the fullest ad-

vantage could be taken of them all: that what had been lost to the world for above three thousand, and to the Arabs themselves for so many hundred years, should be recovered in the brief interval between the first draught, and the final resumption of a work, from its nature fitted, and, from the concurrence of time and circumstances, in readiness, to receive them all. To those who acknowledge only what they are pleased to term "a general Providence," coincidences like these may be of little or no account. The case will be different with those, who (with the authorities to whom it has been my privilege to look up and defer) see a special Providence in all things, great and little, which may affect the interests of immortal man.

In contemplating the providential circumstances which thus have placed, what seemed altogether beyond it, within my reach, I cannot be insensible to another coincidence, which is to myself cause for humble thankfulness: the circumstance that, at a crisis when Ireland would seem all but abandoned to the wretched sway of Romish ignorance and superstition, and when her ancient Church (one of the purest portions of the Church Catholic in Christendom) has been "shorn of half her beams," . . . that, at a crisis

such as this, when a question was pending respecting the interpretation of monuments seemingly undecypherable as "the handwriting upon the wall," . . . monuments in quest of the key to which it was thought necessary to send to Germany, and after Germany had been sent to in vain, . . . the office of interpreter should have fallen to the lot of one, who, although, at Your Grace's call, long a highly-favoured labourer in the English branch of our United Church, yet never has forgotten (however unworthy to follow in the steps of those illustrious men), that he is the countryman of Archbishops Ussher and Magee, and was "the daily companion, and own familiar friend," of Bishop Jebb.

To look back to what the Church of Christ has lost in my departed friend, serves but to quicken the sense of gratitude for what has been preserved to her in a gracious living benefactor. Last August twelvemonth how did not the hearts of all true children of the Church of England mourn at the prospect, humanly speaking, then before her! But the prayers of many hearts prevailed. Nor can any true son of the Church of England doubt that, in this merciful Providence, the promise of Scripture has been fulfilled; that "the prayer of faith hath saved the sick, and the Lord hath

raised him up," . . . as we may confidingly believe, for the further guardianship and guidance of the ark of His Church, in this land, through a season of unexampled difficulties and perils, and for the fresh elucidation, in unquiet times, of another Scripture, "In quietness and confidence shall be thy strength."

Amidst the private sorrows of that trying hour, may I be permitted to own a regret, which added sharpness to the pressure on the heart which I shared with so very many, . . . it was the thought that he whom I so deeply revered might be no longer amongst us in the body, to honour with his censure, or reward with his approval, the labours which he had animated by his countenance and sanction. But in the little cares of individuals, as in the great concerns of his Church, God has been good to us. And I am granted once more the privilege which I so truly prize,

Of subscribing myself,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged,

And most dutiful humble Servant,

CHARLES FORSTER.

Stisted Rectory, Braintree,
February 16. 1844.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

Page

INTRODUCTION - - - - xxix

PART I.

SECTION I.

Settlements of Cush - - - - - 3

SECTION II.

Settlements of Joktan - - - - - 77

SECTION III.

Settlements of Ishmael - - - - 176

SECTION IV.

Settlements of Keturah - - - - 317

THE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ARABIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The colonization of Arabia, while it forms a subject of inquiry, not, it may be hoped, unattractive to the general reader, has peculiar claims on the attention of the geographical student, the scholar, and the divine.

The geography of a country, so celebrated by the writers of antiquity, so venerable from its patriarchal character and scriptural associations, and so illustrious in the history of the world in more recent times, is rendered only the more interesting to men of science, by the physical and moral impediments, which have limited the progress of geographical research along its coasts, and effectually barred against European curiosity all access to the interior.

The physical and moral obstacles to a free intercourse with the Arabian peninsula, presented, in all ages of the world, by its climate, its deserts, the night marches of its caravans, and the fierce manners of its roving tribes, . . . have, within the last twelve centuries, been unspeakably augmented and aggravated, by the bigotry of an exclusive superstition. If, in earlier times, the stranger had to encounter the ordinary risks and hardships of Arab life, he shared those risks and hardships with the natives themselves. But, under the iron sway of Islamism, the aspect was wholly changed. Commerce ceased to be a passport to the curiosity of science. Mahometan Arabia was accessible only to Mussulman guests. However at variance, still, among themselves, the settled Arab and the Bedouin, the "people of the towns," and the "people of the tents," became thenceforward banded together, in a national league of exclusion, against "the unbeliever." Nor were the midland districts of the peninsula more securely guarded from foreign intrusion, by their fiery winds and burning sands, than were the cities of the coast, by the intolerance of superstition.

In these unfavourable circumstances, the investigations of modern science have been unavoidably restricted to the scanty and dubious

materials supplied by the Orientals; for, until the middle of the eighteenth century inclusive, there existed no more authentic sources of information. From these sources, accordingly, the most eminent of modern geographers, M. d'Anville, compiled his very learned and elaborate Map of Arabia; which, as we learn from the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, was formed, chiefly, from the geographies of Abulfeda and El Edrisi, together with that entitled *Gehan-Numa*, or "The Mirror of the World;" of which last-named work a French translation is, or was, to be found in the King's Library at Paris.*

Since the date, however, of M. d'Anville's map, two most valuable accessions, results of competent inquiry and observation in the country itself, have accrued to geographical science. In 1763,

* "La Géographie peut tirer de grands avantages d'un voyage entrepris dans l'Yémen, par des personnes habiles et éclairées. — On a la description de publiques routes, de Moka vers Sanaâ, ville principale dans l'intérieur de l'Yémen; le Voyage de Bartema, dans le recueil de Ramusio; et les Géographies Orientales d'Edrisi, d'Aboulfeda, et celle qui est intitulée *Gehan-Numa*, Miroir du Monde, dont il y a une traduction Françoise à la Bibliothèque du Roi.— C'est principalement de ces trois dernières pièces, plus méthodiques et plus complètes que les autres, que M. d'Anville a tiré ce que contient l'Arabie, dans la première partie de sa carte d'Asie, donnée au public en 1751; comme on n'en connoît pas de plus ample, et de plus détaillée, on seroit obligé à Messieurs les Académiciens Danois [M. Niebuhr and his associates, then about to proceed on their Arabian expedition], s'ils vouloient bien la comparer avec le local, pour en reconnoître les fautes et les omissions."—Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxix. p. 20.

a scientific expedition, for the improvement of our very imperfect knowledge of Arabia, set on foot under the munificent patronage of the king of Denmark, and ably conducted by the learned Niebuhr and his associates, brought back to Europe the *first* accurate information obtained, respecting the true positions of some of the principal towns and localities of Yemen. Limited as this information was, it sufficed to expose several capital errors of M. d'Anville, or of his authorities, in laying down this part of the country; and to establish, at the same time, the decided superiority of prior sources of information, which had been too long neglected.*

From the time of Niebuhr, an eventful pause of half a century intervened, before the re-awakened spirit of European inquiry was again directed towards Arabia. At length, in the years 1814...1816, the *unscrupulous* zeal † and enterprize of John Lewis Burckhardt unlocked the forbidden gates of the Hedjáz; verified the sites of its chief cities and towns; measured the inland routes, and surveyed the outline of the coasts; ascertained, on the spot, the names and

* For example, M. d'Anville's course of the Caua-Canim river, and his consequent positions of Sanaa and other places in Yemen, are at variance with Ptolemy: but Ptolemy was right, and d'Anville wrong.

† Love of science can never justify the compromise of religious principle.

geographical situations of the various tribes; and, extending his indefatigable inquiries far beyond the sphere of his personal observation, procured, from natives of those parts, much valuable intelligence, respecting the provinces of Nedjd, Iemama, and Yemen.

What this accomplished traveller saw with his own eyes, extends, however, to a comparatively small portion of his "Travels in Arabia," and "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys:" the whole of his interesting details, respecting the districts beyond the Mussulman sacred territory of Mekka and Medinah, being derived from oral communication with individual inhabitants; or with travellers, who had accompanied the "Hadj el Kebsy," or pilgrim caravan, which passes, periodically, between Mekka, and Sanaa, in Yemen. These details bear, indeed, the strongest internal marks of fidelity and exactness: but they stand in need of further corroboration, to render them available for the purposes of strict geographical science; and they fall so short of completing our general acquaintance with the peninsula, that, to the present hour, many districts remain not only unvisited, but undescribed. "All to the eastward and northward of Sanaa," observes a well-informed writer, "the territories of Sahaun, Djof, and Yafa, the whole of Hadramaut and El

Nedjed, and the greater part of Omaun and Lachsa, are *terra incognita*."* And so defective, on the whole, is the present state of our information, that scientific geographers (as the author has been assured by an eminent artist), when constructing improved maps of the surrounding countries of Asia, are content to pass over Arabia as a blank; republishing merely, with occasional corrections, the details furnished by their predecessors.

In the absence of contemporary materials, to any adequate amount, it seems not unnatural that we should revert to the past; to those minute and copious delineations which have been left by the most celebrated geographers of antiquity. The prominence given to the Arabian peninsula, in the pages of the Greek and Latin classics; the graphical descriptions of its various tribes, and territorial subdivisions, supplied by Ptolemy and Pliny, by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, by Dionysius, Agatharchides, Arrian, and Marcian, must render its geography not less interesting to the classical scholar †, than to the man of science.

* Modern Traveller, vol. iv. p. 47.

† Much stress has been laid on the classical attainments of Burckhardt, as peculiarly qualifying him for researches in the East: very gratuitously, however, if we may form a judgment from results. In his "Travels in Syria and the Holy Land," his perspicacious judgment, indeed, has done much to illustrate Scripture history. But, towards the

But the interest of both will be naturally and materially heightened, if it shall appear, on closer inquiry, that, upon this, as upon many other subjects, the writers of antiquity possessed, both more extensive, and more accurate, information than ourselves. It has been alleged, indeed, that their accounts are, to say the least, greatly overcharged; that the Arabia of the ancients, . . . the land of gold, and frankincense, and precious stones, . . . bears little, if any, resemblance to the country in its present state. It might, however, have been well, had the learned framers of these objections pleased to recollect, that such also is the Arabia of Scripture; and that there seems no juster ground for questioning the general fidelity of the classic writers, in their glowing descriptions of its wealth and products, than there exists for impugning the equally concurrent

illustration of the classics, he has, in his Syrian and Egyptian voyages, contributed comparatively little; and absolutely nothing, in his visit to Arabia; to the ancient geography of which country, he has scarcely a single allusion.

The fact of his silence on classical topics, but augments the value of his undesigned testimonies, to the extent and accuracy of the geographical knowledge possessed by the Greeks and Romans. Had the rich materials accumulated in his Arabian travels, been collected with any reference to the ancient geography of the country, the object in view might, naturally enough, be suspected of having given, however undesignedly, a colouring to his information. But as it is, the extraordinary correspondence which will be exhibited in the following Maps and Memoir, between the classic writers and Burckhardt, has all the force of two wholly independent witnesses.

testimonies of the Scriptures, and the classics, when they unite in describing the long-forgotten fruitfulness of the now waste and desolated hills of Judea.

The geographical acquaintance with Arabia, actually possessed by the ancients, is properly, however, a question, not of theory, but of fact. And our first legitimate step towards ascertaining the extent of their knowledge, will be, to form a correct estimate of their opportunities and means of acquiring it. Now it is certain, in the first place, that far greater facilities of intercourse must have existed throughout the peninsula in its pagan state, than could possibly, from the nature of the case, obtain in Mahometan Arabia. From the uniform testimony of antiquity, it seems further certain, that a free intercourse with the Arabian peninsula, both on the coasts, and in the interior, was, from their first rise as a commercial people, carried on by the Greeks. Thus Agatharchides, when speaking of the hospitable character of the Dedebæ, a nation on the coast of Hedjáz, adds, that their hospitality was not indiscriminate; that it was peculiarly exercised towards the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, on account, as he further states, of a certain tradition, affirming their descent from one com-

mon stock.* And Pliny notices the existence of a similar tradition, relating to the inland nations of the Minæi and Rhadamæi; who, according to his authorities, deduced their names from Minos and Rhadamanthus, and their fabled origin from Crete.† In both instances we easily recognize, under the thin veil of classical fiction, the important historical fact, of the existence of an open trade, between the Greeks and Arabs, from very remote times, and of all the facilities implied by commercial intercommunity.

Neither were the opportunities of acquiring information, enjoyed by the Greeks, limited to naval commercial intercourse; since we learn, from unexceptionable authorities, that this enterprizing people early founded flourishing colonies, and erected prosperous seats of commerce, in various parts of the peninsula. Pliny, in particular, specifies three Grecian marts on the Persian Gulf, as having, long before his time, fallen victims to the ravages of war: the cities, namely, of Arethusa, Larissa, and Chalcis; names indicating, severally, the emigrations of colonists from Sicily, Thessaly, and Eubœa.‡

* Agatharch. de Rubro Mari, apud Geograph. Vet. Script. Min. tom. i. p. 59. ed. Oxon. 1698.

† Hist. Nat. lib. vi. s. 32. tom. ii. pp. 718, 719. ed. Paris, 1828. 8vo.

‡ It may throw light, historically, on these alleged Grecian settlements, to notice the fact, that Strabo makes mention of an *Arab* colony,

The particulars here briefly adverted to, may, in some measure, serve as a clue to the superior advantages possessed by the ancients, for acquiring a correct geographical knowledge of Arabia; and of the names, characters, and habits of the divers races which composed its mingled population.

We proceed to inquire, whether the geographers of Greece and Rome used those advantages; and with what success.

For the present writer, however, scientific researches would have no charm, were they not connected with subjects of a far higher strain. Arabia opens a field for better things than curious speculations: it is the country of the first post-diluvian patriarchs,... the nursery of the earliest ancient prophets,... the soil in which the primitive families of mankind were originally planted, by the finger of God. Whatever interest, therefore, Arabian geography may possess, in the eyes of the scholar, or of the votary of science, it has paramount claims on the attention of the Christian theologian. In this aspect it

which accompanied Cadmus into Greece, and settled in Eubœa. But Chalcis was the capital of Eubœa; a circumstance, directly connecting with Eubœa the Greek city of the same name, on the Persian Gulf. Strabo's account seems to explain satisfactorily the friendly commercial relations between the Greeks and Arabs, as well as strikingly to elucidate the national traditions of their common origin, noticed by nearly all the ancient geographers. On this subject, see Part I. § vi.

was, that the present subject first engaged the thoughts of the writer, in connection with a former work. The wanton cavils of infidelity, against the Mosaic account of the peopling of Arabia, induced him to direct, so far as the nature and limits of that work permitted, his serious attention to a comparative survey of the historical authorities, sacred and profane, with a view to the establishment of one great point, contested by Mr. Gibbon and his imitators, . . . the "Descent of the Arabs from Ishmael."

The satisfactory results obtained, even from so limited an investigation, together with the favourable reception which this codicil to "Mahometanism Unveiled" * experienced from the public, naturally led him on, at leisure intervals, to a more extended collation of those wholly independent witnesses, the sacred, and the classic writers. And accordingly, as, in the progress of this inquiry, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were gradually compared with the Greek and Roman geographers, and both authorities with the materials supplied by the Oriental geographers, and by modern atlases and travels, . . . the author found opening upon him a consent of evidences, and a concurrence of testimonies, altogether beside and beyond anticipation. All,

* Appendix, Nos. I. II.

or nearly all, the names and nations mentioned, in the Mosaic records, and in the later Scriptures, as springing from the five great patriarchal stocks of Cush, Joktan, Ishmael, Keturah, and Esau, successively disclosed themselves, in the pages of Ptolemy and Pliny, when disencumbered, only, of their Greek or Latin terminations, as the names of the chief tribes and nations, which, in their day, still inhabited Arabia.

Nor did the triumphant testimony thus borne to the truth of Scripture history, rest or pause here. On a more exact scrutiny, it plainly appeared, further, that the great majority of Arab tribes enumerated by classic writers, and *not* mentioned in Scripture, were nothing more than branches and subdivisions of the great patriarchal families; whose "local habitation," and whose *generic* names, the sacred penman and the heathen authorities unite in recording and handing down: while, on comparison, lastly, of the classical nomenclature, with that supplied by modern geographers and travellers, the subordinate names, just alluded to, re-appear on the scene, as the actual denominations, at the present hour, of the chief existing tribes and families of the peninsula.*

* The names of the Arab tribes are of very various origin: sometimes patronymic, sometimes territorial, and sometimes characteristic. In

The object, which, originally, engaged the author in the studies that have conducted to these

tracing the tribes themselves to their primitive sources, the greatest care is necessary in order to discriminate between these different kinds of names; which not unfrequently unite in one and the same tribe: thus, the Sobh Bedouins, so called from the Sobh mountain which they inhabit, are properly one of the branches of the great tribe of Harb; an appellative, again, denoting, not the pedigree, but the warlike propensities, of the race which peoples the Hedjáz. A similar appellation, *Beni Kelb* (sons of the dog), borne by the kindred tribe of Dumah, and derived plainly from the peculiar war-cry of this tribe, alluded to in the 59th Psalm, . . . receives striking elucidation from a practice of the Mahratta horse, mentioned by Major Thorn, in his Memoir of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake. . . . "When we halted, they did the same, rallied, and stood gazing at us; and, when we turned our backs to return home, they dashed on, attacking our rear and flanks, firing long shots with their matchlocks; while those who were armed with spears and tolwars flourished their weapons, *making, at the same time, a noise like jackalls, by way of bravado.*"— Thorn, p. 372. Compare Vol. I. pp. 282—284, of the present work.

The above remark may serve to throw light upon a question of great difficulty and obscurity, . . . the name and origin of the Chaldeans; who are always denominated *Chasdim* (כשדים) in the Hebrew Scriptures, but *Chaldeans* in every other language. With the clue here before us, the explanation of this variety is perfectly easy and clear. This famous people of antiquity went by *both names:* being called Chasdim (from the root כשד, *Tribus digitis mulsit camelam — Defœcavit butyrum*) most probably from their pastoral habits; and Chaldeans, as being the settled branch of the great Bedouin tribe of Beni Khaled, who occupy the ancient Chaldea, and the parts adjoining it, to this day.—On this subject, see Vol. I. pp. *54—56.*

In Arabia, where national usages have never changed, the prevalence, at this day, of local and territorial denominations, distinguishing the inhabitants of the respective towns or districts,— as Mekkawys, Yembawys, Shammarys,—becomes, when duly adverted to, a master-key to many of the classical appellations. For example, the Cassaniti from Mount Gazuan; the Alilæi from Haly (the Æli vicus of Ptolemy); and the Doreni and Mocritæ, from the districts of Zohran and Mekhra: these names being wholly distinct from those belonging to the several tribes, as patronymics.

results, has been already intimated. He hoped to augment the general evidences of revealed religion, by vindicating the authority, and illustrating the historical fidelity, of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, in their account of the primitive settlements of mankind, subsequently to the deluge. In pursuit of this object, however, he found himself, insensibly, drawn on beyond his original intentions. In the process of verifying the geography of the Hebrew Scriptures, so far as it involved the question of the colonization of Arabia, many points of classical geography forced themselves on his consideration. And here, also, no less than in the case of Scripture, obscurities and difficulties were found to disappear, before the lights obtained by a strict, and comprehensive scrutiny; supposed errors of the ancient geographers, proved to be only real mistakes of their modern emendators; and a large and patient induction of facts, led, irresistibly, to the conclusion, that Ptolemy and Pliny may become not less intelligible, and oftentimes more faithful, guides of the modern geographer, than Rennell and d'Anville.

Thus impressed, the writer felt it a duty owing to truth and science, to enlarge his plan: not insensible, he will freely confess, when coming to this decision, that every fresh confirmation

given to the general authority of the ancients, must augment the value of their testimony, where it happens to coincide with the geographical details of Scripture.

Upon this base, accordingly, were constructed the following Memoir and Maps: the maps being given, and the memoir being divided into two parts, with a view to include, without embarrassment, both the scriptural and classical geography of Arabia.

The first Map, and the first part of the Memoir, will comprize the settlements of the great patriarchal stocks; every particular of the scriptural geography being established, independently, from the concurrent evidences of the classics, the Oriental writers, and modern maps and travels.

The second Map and number will aim to render the Arabian geography of the Greeks and Romans as intelligible, and as accessible, as is the Arabia of d'Anville or Burckhardt; to resolve their hitherto unexplained perplexities, and reconcile many supposed errors, and seeming contradictions, by careful analysis of the whole; and to bring the greater part of their details to moral certainty, and the remainder, within the bounds of different degrees of probability, by an exact collation of them with the best mo-

dern authorities, and with the ascertained geography of the country, at this day.

In entering upon this double field of investigation, the author is not insensible, either of his own deficiencies, or of the intrinsic difficulties of the subject. Few questions have seemed wrapt in more impenetrable obscurity, than that respecting the connection between the tribes and localities of ancient, and those of modern Arabia. According to some learned men, not a trace, or scarcely a trace, of its ancient cities and districts, now remains in that celebrated country *; while any approximations to the opposite opinion have been doubtfully entertained, and, of course, imperfectly argued. Even the illustrious d'Anville, in his admirable "Géographie Ancienne," adventured no further on this debateable ground, than to assign a few conjectural verifications, wholly unsustained by proofs, beyond the mere agreement between names.

Whether, and how far, a writer unspeakably less competent, may prove more successful in disentangling the web, . . . in lifting the veil of

* "It is singular enough, that a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, *should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography.*"—Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 222.

After this specimen from the pen of one of our most frequently-quoted authorities, it surely is high time that the mists should be dispelled, in which modern ignorance and presumption would thus involve the lights transmitted to us from ancient times.

ages, . . . it must remain with the impartial judgment of readers, conversant with subjects of this nature, to determine. Patient investigation, close comparative criticism, implicit faith in the historical details of Scripture, and a strong disposition, grounded on experiment, to place reliance on the general trustworthiness of the ancient geographers, are the only qualifications which he can pretend to bring to a geographical discussion. And he would altogether shrink from the responsibilities of an undertaking, which has been left unessayed by the first names in geographical science, had he not been led, in the course of private study, fully to satisfy his own mind, and did he not hope, as fully, to satisfy the judgment of scientific readers, respecting the existence of causes, which, hitherto, have combined, both to disguise the proper nomenclature of the land, and to throw a veil of seemingly impenetrable mystery over the descriptions of Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

A summary enumeration of these obstructing causes, will be the next aim of the present introductory remarks. Whether they have, or have not, been justly assigned, the Maps and Memoir must be referred to, for evidence.

Before approaching the subject more nearly, the writer, perhaps, ought not to leave unnoticed

the single advantage, (an advantage of some moment in this species of research,) to which he may fairly lay claim, over his predecessors, . . . that of having concentrated his attention on the geography of a single country. For it is obvious, that much which must escape the most scientific composer of a general atlas, may be easily discernible by the constructer of an insulated map.

But to proceed to the causes of the existing obscurity and confusion: . . .

1. The cause which may but too justly be assigned as the root of all our perplexities, in adjusting the classical to the modern topography of Arabia, is the prevalence of an unwarrantable scepticism, growing out of imperfect examination, and narrow inductions, with regard to the means of information possessed, and to the skill and accuracy employed in its acquirement and application, by the ancient geographers. It is impossible to consult the learned commentators on Ptolemy, or Pliny, without meeting, at every step, deep traces of this scepticism; from the injurious influences of which, M. d'Anville himself is by no means free.

Upon this head, indeed, it is but very recently, that the judgment of the scientific world has begun to be disabused. In repeated instances, where truth had been corrected into error, a

juster examination, or new lights, have confirmed the text, and confuted the commentary; which has too often served only to "darken counsel, by words without knowledge." Accordingly, one of the highest testimonies ever borne to the science of antiquity, has been borne by the most experienced and accomplished geographer of our own times. "M. d'Anville," observes Major Rennell, in his posthumous work on Western Asia, speaking of the great lake Ascanias, (now Nicæa, or Is-Nik,) "M. d'Anville, and others of the modern writers, thought that this lake had no discharge. This is even the idea of Kauffer, so late as 1776. But Ptolemy was right, in this, as well as in many other particulars, in which the moderns have ventured to differ from him. It appears, that the man who resided at Alexandria, in Egypt, knew more respecting the neighbourhood of the *Propontis*, than the man who surveyed it." *

* Rennell, Geogr. of West. Asia, vol. ii. p. 108. note 1.—For similar high testimony, from the results of actual survey, to the fidelity of Arrian, see the late Dean Vincent's "Commerce and Navigation of the Indian Ocean," vol. ii. p. 319. note 159; also p. 330. Our latest and most authoritative information pays a similarly high tribute to another ancient. "Diodorus Siculus [observes Mr. Wellsted, in his account of the Gulf of Akaba] has furnished a good description of this gulf. Let any one, to be satisfied with [of] this, compare his description with modern maps, and then with the result of our survey."—Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 108. note.—The ancient authorities will be so largely drawn upon, in the following pages, that it seems but right, to impress ourselves, at the

To this tribute, both as it respects the errors of the moderns, and the trustworthy correctness of their most unjustly depreciated predecessors,

outset, with a true sense of the respect, to which they are entitled. Colonel Leake, in his interesting preface to Burckhardt's Syria, while illustrating the geography of a single position, that of the ancient Meroe, has supplied an accumulation of authoritative testimonies to the correctness of the classical geographers, which must be left to produce its own effects on the judgment of the reader. By permission of Mr. Waddington, Col. Leake has corrected, from that gentleman's delineation, the parts of the Nile above Mahass, for the second edition of Burckhardt's Nubia; and from the information transmitted to England by Mr. Salt, he has been enabled to insert, in the same map, the position of the ruins of an ancient city, situated about twenty miles to the north-eastward of Shendy.

"These ruins had already been partially seen by Bruce and Burckhardt, and there can be little doubt that Bruce was right, in supposing them to be the remains of Meroe, the capital of the great peninsula of the same name; of which the general geography appears to have been known with considerable accuracy to men of science in the Augustan age, although it had not been visited by any of the writers, whose works have reached us. For assuming these ruins to mark the site of the city Meroe, and that the latitude and longitude of Shendy have been accurately determined by Bruce, whose instruments were good, and whose competency to the task of observation is undoubted, it will be found that Ptolemy is very nearly right, in ascribing the latitude 16° 26′ to the city Meroe. [Ptolem. lib. iv. cap. 8.] Pliny is equally correct, in stating, that the two points of the ecliptic, in which the sun is in the zenith at Meroe, are, the 18th degree of Taurus, and the 14th degree of Leo. [Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 73.] The 5000 stades, which Strabo and Pliny [Plin. ibid. Strabo, p. 113.] assert to be the distance between Meroe and Syene, is correct, at a rate of between 11 and 12 stades to the geographical mile; if the line be taken in direct distance, as evidently appears to have been the intention of Strabo, by his thrice stating (upon the authority of Eratosthenes), that the distance from Meroe to Alexandria was 10,000 stades. [Eratosth. ap. Strabo, p. 62. Strabo, pp 113. 825.] The latitudes of Ptolemy equally accord, in showing the equidistance of Syene, from Meroe, and from Alexandria; the latitude of Syene being stated by him, at 23° 50′ [Ptolem. lib. iv. cap. 6.], and that of

the results of the following inquiry enable the writer cordially to subscribe. But the confusion, created by the overweening confidence of modern scholarship, is inconceivably greater than Major Rennell, or any others, have as yet ventured to conjecture. And a full exposure of the nature and amount of the misguidance, arising from the perverse substitution of novel errors, for old truths, must, it is only too clear, be the prelude to all real advances in our knowledge, positive and comparative, of the ancient world.

2. A second cause of perplexity may be traced to the imperfect modes of description employed

Alexandria at 31° 0′. [Ptolem. ih.] The description of the island of Meroe, as being 3000 stades long, and 1000 broad, in form like a shield, and as formed by the coofluence of the Astasobas, Astapus, and Astaboras [Eratosth. ap. Strab. p. 786. Strab. p. 821. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. cap. 33. Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. x. cap. 5.], is perfectly applicable to the great peninsula, watered on the east by the Tacazze, and on the west by the Bahr el Abiad, after receiving the Bahr el Azrek. The position of the city Meroe is shown by Artemidorus, Ptolemy, and Pliny [Artemid. ap. Strab. p. 771. Ptolem. lib. iv. cap. 8. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 29.], to have been, like the ruins near Shendy, near the northern angle of the island, or the confluence of the rivers. The island between Djebail and Shendy, which Bruce calls Kurgos, answers to that which Pliny describes as the port of Meroe; and, finally, the distance of 'fifteen days to a good walker,' which Artemidorus [Artemid. ibid.] places between Meroe and the sea, giving a rate of about sixteen English miles a-day in direct distance, is a correct statement of the actual distance, between the ruins near Shendy, and Souakin."— Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, edit. 4to. editor's preface, pp. xix. xx.

Such verifications of the ancient authorities even where they describe regions which they had not visited, should, alone, suffice to teach deference to them, in their descriptions of parts still unknown to Europeans.

by the ancients, in framing their geographical delineations; an imperfection, partly owing to the false state of science, and partly to their defectiveness in mechanical skill. The imperfect construction of maps, modelled after their imperfect representations of countries, has thus occasioned much unavoidable confusion, in the detail of their geographical positions; even where their general outline may be, in the main, correct. Hence Ptolemy, and other ancients, have been erroneously taxed with assigning false positions, when a little adjustment only is required, to prove their statements substantially, if not circumstantially, faithful.

From this cause springs the manifest incompatibility between the Arabia of Ptolemy, as laid down in Mercator's map, and the actual face of the country, in its known present state, and necessary past one. The peninsula, as there delineated, appears equally filled, in all parts, with the names of national occupants; with the marks, in other words, of an equably diffused population. Yet, the fact is unquestionable, that, in the heart of the country, immense tracts of desert occur, not merely uninhabited, but uninhabitable. The contrariety here adverted to will be, at once, apparent, on comparing Mercator's map of Arabia, laid down according to the descriptions of Pto-

lemy, with those of d'Anville and the moderns: the great desert of Alıkaf, for example, between Omân and the territory of Mekka, which, according to the Ptolemaic delineation, seems peopled throughout, presents itself in our atlases as what it truly is, . . . a waste and naked wilderness.*

In comparing the ancient with the modern geography of the country, this grand difficulty meets us in the foreground; and unless it be solved, any attempt to decypher the Arabia of Ptolemy must be hopeless. A large and close analysis of the topographical details, would seem, however, to have issued, most unexpectedly, in a complete solution. The writer, having, for his own satisfaction, analyzed and distributed nearly the whole of the denominations in Ptolemy, so as to appropriate them to the modern nomen-

* " The Great Desert, east of Beishe and Wady Dowáser, and south of the province of Nedjed, extending eastwards to the frontiers of Oman, is called by the Bedouins *Robá el Khály*, 'the empty or deserted abode.' In summer it is wholly deserted, being without any wells. In winter, after rains, where the sands produce herbage, all the great tribes of the Nedjed, Hedjáz, and Yemen, pasture their flocks in the parts of this desert bordering, respectively, on their own countries.— Several Bedouins assured me, that, in the Robá el Khály, there are many parts which have never yet been explored; because, towards the east, it does not, even in winter time, afford the slightest vegetation. *The only habitable spot on this dreary expanse of sand*, is the Wady Djebryn; [manifestly the Bar-Gebal of d'Anville; so in Burckhardt's Syria, editor's preface, p. xxi. note *, Djebai*l* for Djibbai*n*y;] there, the road passes, by which, in winter, the Arabs of Nedjed travel to Hadramaut: it is a low ground, with date-trees and wells; but the pestilential climate deters people from residing there."— Burckhardt, Trav. in Arab. Appendix, No. V. vol. ii. p. 390.

clature, was, at once, surprized and rewarded, by the discovery of two capital omissions in the Arabia of this geographer, . . . the pretermission, on the one hand, of the entire middle part of the southern coast, . . . a lapse involving the confounding into one, the Caua Canim or Hargiah, and Prion or Prim, rivers, . . . and, whether cause or consequence of this unaccountable error, the equally total suppression, on the other hand, of the great inland deserts between Nedjd and Yemen. This discovery, which is readily established by comparison of the adjacent localities, broke, at once, upon the eye, immediately on the completion of the general adjustment of Ptolemy's nomenclature; which, when distributed on a new map of Arabia, engraved, after the latest surveys, for the present work, fell exactly within the limits of the great mountain belt or girdle, by which the inland deserts are encircled; leaving those "empty or deserted abodes," as they are expressively styled by the Arabs, precisely as they are laid down in the best modern maps; and disposing the ancient inhabitants accurately in the positions, which the corresponding modern names occupy at the present day.

3. The facility with which some, even of the highest authorities, have allowed themselves to form conclusions, as to the identity of particular

people or places, from the mere resemblance of ancient to modern names, without the indispensable corroborations, from collateral circumstances, or from relative geographical positions, . . . may be numbered as a third, and fertile cause of confusion.

Thus, by reliance on *nominal* resemblance, the learned d'Anville was betrayed into the capital error of transposing the Minæi, one of the most celebrated nations of classical Arabia, from their central position between the Cassaniti and the Gherræans, (or Mount Gazuan, in the neighbourhood of Mekka, and Gherra, on the Persian Gulf,) to the neighbourhood of the Homerites, an equally celebrated people, bordering on the Indian Ocean; the name of Almokarana, in this quarter, which bears resemblance to that of the Minæan metropolis, Carman, sufficing, in the estimate of that great geographer, to overturn the direct and concurrent testimonies of antiquity, as to the true position of the Minæi. The late Dean Vincent, again, on equally insufficient grounds, has discovered the Æli Vicus, and Adedi Pagus, of Ptolemy, in the *modern* towns of Loheia and Hodeida; places not only far to the south of the positions assigned by Ptolemy, but which were first called into existence in the sixteenth century of our era.

4. The constant recurrence, in Arabian geography, of the same names, is another circumstance which has, with little exercise of the reasoning power, been converted into an additional cause of perplexity. Ptolemy, and other ancient authorities, have, by a strange inadvertence on the part of their commentators, been repeatedly and acrimoniously censured, for misplacing various tribes and localities of Arabia; the fact being simply this, . . . that people, and places, bearing the same names, existed then, as they do now, in opposite quarters of the peninsula.

P. Hardouin, for example, in his commentary on the elder Pliny, harshly censures Ptolemy, for "preposterously" transporting a people called the Darrhæ, from the eastern coast of Omân to the northern coast of the Arabian Gulf*: the truth being this, . . . that two tribes of different origin, but similar appellations, anciently existed, as the places which they inhabited, and which still respectively preserve their names, actually exist, in both situations; the one, a Joktanite race, inhabitants of Darrha, in Omân, a name contracted (as will hereafter appear) from the Hadoram † of the book of Genesis; the other, an

* "A Ptolemæo præpostere locantur in Arabico sinu."— Hard. ap. Plin. Nat. Hist. tom. ii. p. 712.

† LXX. Ὀδορρά, which is precisely the Bedouin pronunciation of *Al Darrha*, with the article prefixed; and thus may be traced the process of the contraction.

Ishmaelitish people, inhabitants of Khedheyre, near Yembo, and in whose name we discover, under the disguise of a familiar contraction, (Kedarrhæ, . . . Darrhæ,) a branch of the renowned people of Kedar.

Inattention to this repetition of names, has sometimes betrayed M. d'Anville himself into the error complained of, . . . that of inculpating the ancient geographers, where the fault lay, not with them, but in his own imperfect knowledge, and erroneous conceptions. Of lapses of this nature, the modern authorities, adduced in the following pages, will furnish but too frequent exemplification.

But, to account fully for the failure of all past attempts to adjust the ancient to the modern geography of Arabia, or to reconcile apparent discrepancies between the ancient authorities themselves, the catalogue of obstacles must be materially enlarged. The cause of error last specified, . . . the perplexity occasioned by the repetition of names, . . . is intimately connected with other, and still more prolific sources of *nominal* confusion; arising from the total ignorance, in most modern geographers, and the almost total neglect, by others, of some of the most ascertained peculiarities of the Arabic idiom, with relation to proper names; whether names of

persons, names of places, or names of tribes. With the recital of this class of causes, we will close the present enumeration.

CAUSES OF VERBAL OBSCURITY.

1. The anagram: . . . In its effect on proper names, this is one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the Arabic language: as, in names of persons, *As*mael for *Sa*muel, Bochtanasar for Nebuchadnezzar, Kahtan for Joktan: in names of tribes, *Om*zeine for *Me*zeyne*; *Em*teyr for *Me*teyr†: and in names of places, for *Ah*sa, *Ha*ssa‡; for *Ar*soffa, *Re*safa§; for Argo, Gora‖;

* "Soweyder. The road from Medinah to this place is inhabited by Mezeyne (or Omzeyne) Arabs, of the Beni Harb tribe."— Burckhardt, Trav. in Arab. App. vol. ii. p. 396.

† "*Meteyr*, or, as they are sometimes denominated, *Emteyr*."— Burckhardt, Notes on Bedouins, p. 233.

‡ Mod. Trav. iv. 6. Burckhardt, Trav. in Arab. App. ii. p. 403. Notes on Bedouins, p. 232. The anagram, in this name, is not confined to the province of El Ahsa or El Hassa, on the Persian Gulf; it recurs in a town and district on the Syrian border: "the Wady el Ahsa, which takes its rise near the castle of El *Ahs*a, or El *Has*sa."— Burckhardt's Syria, p. 400. The variation is explained by Abulfeda; والاحسا جمع حسي *Alahsa*, est plurale *Hasa*."— Descript. Arab. ap. Geogr. Min. töm. iii. p. 63.

§ "The connecting point between Ain-al-Koom and Racca is *Re*saffa, or *Ar*soffa."—Rennell, Geogr. West. Asia. vol. i. p. 39. So Usdum for Sodom. See Robinson's Scriptural Researches in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 206.

‖ "The island of Argo seems to be the Gora of Juba."—Burckhardt's Syria, Editor's Preface, p. xxi.

*Ar*gob, *Re*gaba *; and for *Ar*buc, *Ra*buc or Rabegh †: or a double anagram, as, Ascanias, Nicæa, and Is-Nik. ‡

2. The suppression of the initiatory syllable of names §: as Apatei for Napatei, or Nabatei; Maan for Teman ‖; Cogni, or Kuniah, for Iconium ¶; Richa for Jericho; Salonike for Thessalonica; Istambul for Constantinople; Ferka for Mefrek **: of the final syllable; as, Kataba for Katabana ††: and of the middle; as, Dibon-Mayn for Dibon-Baal-Meon ‡‡, Wad for Wated. §§

3. The capricious transposition of the article,

* "The remains of the ancient town of Regaba, or Argob."— Ib. p. 279.

† D'Anville.

‡ "The lake *Ascanias*, now of Is-Nik, or Nicæa."— Rennell, Geogr. West. Asia, vol. ii. p. 107.

§ Unacquaintedness with this idiomatic variety has been the cause of sad false criticism in commentators upon the classics. Thus Hardouin ignorantly corrects the Armalchar of Pliny, to Naarmalchar: where both forms of the name are equally correct: "In Plinianis libris *corrupta* hæc vox existimatur, Armalchar; quum Naarmalchar, ex Chaldaico, doceant cæteri interpretes."— Hard. in Plin. lib. vi. § 30. note 37.

‖ Geogr. West. Asia, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.

¶ So ap. Jer. Coniah for Jekoniah; cf. Jer. xxii. 24., and xxviii. 4.

** "The Kalaat el Mefrek, or, as the Arabs call it, El Ferka."— Burckhardt's Syria, p. 248.

†† Katabania, Katabana, Katabanum, Kabatanum, are anagrams of places; corresponding with the anagrammatized names of the inhabitants, the Katabeni, or Beni Kahtan. These names of localities follow a still existing usage of the language, ... to denominate the place from the tribe; thus, in Mrs. Elwood's Travels, we meet the town of Beni Hassan.

‡‡ Giovanni Finati, vol. ii. p. 270.

§§ "ود contracte pro ودّ nomen Idoli."— Gol. in verb.

or other prefix, from the beginning of proper names, to the middle or end: as Shebalam, Al Shibam *, Ab, or *Al* Ab, Gab*ala*: or its incorporation with the name; as Lachsa for Al Achsa †: or its pronunciation being affected by the initial letter of the name; as El Daheb, Eddaheb; Al Sabo, Assabo.

4. The interchange and indifferent use of several consonants ‡: as B for M, Mekka... Bekka; M for N, Yembo... Yenbo; Z for D, "La permutation usitée en Orient, du *daled* et du *zain*, D et Z §;" H for G, Seger... Shehr ‖; Z for R. ¶

5. The variable pronunciation, in composition, of particular letters: thus, B pronounced P; Basha... Pasha; Battra... Petra. **

6. The peculiarities of different dialects of the

* So in d'Anville's map, "*Salebd*, ou Asab:" *i. e.* El Asab, or Saba.

† "Lachsa, or El Ah'sa."—Mod. Trav. iv. 6.

‡ So in the Bible, Beelzebou*l* for Beelzebu*b*; Nebuchadr*e*zzar for Nebuchadn*e*zzar; Berodach Baladan, for Merodach Baladan, &c.

§ D'Anville, Géograph. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 212.

‖ Seger or Sagur, and Shehr, are sometimes marked in our maps as distinct districts. The intelligent editor of "The Modern Traveller" puts a query as to the correctness of this distinction. Mr. Conder is right: the comparison of Abulfeda, Descript. Arab. pp. 18. 51. 62., proves their identity. The mountain-tract, distinguished in modern charts as Shehr, but termed, by Abulfeda, the mountains of Merbat, is part of the district of Seger or Shehr.

¶ "Cum apud Arabes Z et R uno solum puncto differant, itaque harum literarum *frequens est παραγραμματισμος*."—Bochart. Op. tom. i. p. 162.

** "*B*attra باطرة in Arabic, is *P*etra in Greek."—Burckhardt.

Arabic in spelling or pronunciation, or in both :— Thus, the initial H dropt in the dialect of the Nabatheans, as, for Hagar . . . Agar ; and the initial Dj, as, for Djedour . . . Ittur* ; *An* written *Ain* in that of the Beni Temin.†

7. The differences between the pronunciation of the settled Arabs, and that of the Bedouins : . . . As, Z pronounced Dj, M*eze*yne . . . M*edje*yne‡ ; K pronounced G, *K*oreish . . . *G*ereish§, or Dj, Kerash . . . Djerash‖ ; thus, the true Bedouin

* " הגר آحر Hagar, Mater Ismaelis. ה *pro* ח *posito dialecto Nabathæa.*"—Golius in voc. " The greater part of *Ituræa*, appears to be comprised within the limits of *Djedour.*"— Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 286. " The *H*aouran now includes, not only *A*uranitis [the Nabathean dialect], but Itursea also, or *I*ttur, of which *D*jedour is perhaps a corruption."— Ibid. Editor's Preface, p. xi. These varieties are, manifestly, the ordinary, and the Nabathean, pronunciation of *Jetur.*

This note will explain a number of instances apud Bochart.—Geograph. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 17. ad fin.

† " Apud Teminæos, pro Hamza Phatata ponitur Aïn, ut عن pro ان " —Gol. in voc ضنعنة

‡ " Mezeyne, or Medjeyne, according to the Bedouin pronunciation." — Burckhardt.

§ " The *Geráshy* are descended from the ancient *Geraysh* of Mekka," as the Arabs pronounce the name قريش, which Europeans generally express by *Koreish.*"— Ibid. Notes on Bedouins, p. 222.

‖ " In an hour and a half from Souf, we reached the city walls of Djerash or Kerash كرش [the Gerasa of Ptolemy] ; the dj being the Bedouin pronunciation of the letter ك, which, in the language of the city, corresponds with our k."—Burckhardt, Travels in Syria, p. 252.

" La prononciation de certaines lettres diffère beaucoup : p. e. le ق et ك, dont les Arabes du nord et de l'ouest se servent comme d'un K ou d'un Q, se prononce à Mascát, et prés du Golfe Persique, comme tsch.

pronunciation, is given, in supposed corruptions of Arabic names, by Pliny; as Gebanitæ for Katabeni, (the name being, at the same time, anagrammatized, Getæbani,) Gedranitæ for Kedranitæ; or, by Ptolemy, as Gittabanitæ for Kithabanitæ, Giratha for Cariata or Kariatain*: *a* pronounced *o*, as T*o*r*o*ba for T*a*r*a*ba†; so, in Ptolemy, we correctly read C*o*ttabani for Cattabeni; this being the true pronunciation, in the idiom of the Bedouins of Omân, and the Persian Gulf.

8. The modulation, for the sake of euphony, of some Arabic consonants, by the Greeks and Romans‡:...For example; the substitution of

Voilà pourquoi l'on dit, en quelques contrées Bukkra, Kiâb, pendant qu'on dit, en autres, Bûtsher, Tschiâb, et ainsi du reste."— Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 73.

* Giratha ... Kariatain. In Burckhardt's Syria, we meet the same variation: "At one hour from Baara, is the Ain Karatha, or Geratha, according to Bedouin and Haouran pronunciation."— p. 64.

† "Taraba, as the people of Tayf and Mekka call it; or Toroba, according to the Bedouin pronunciation."— Burckhardt, Trav. in Arab. vol. ii. p. 384, App.

‡ Their arrogant ignorance of Barbarian names considered, and their consequent tendency to corrupt them, the majority of the alterations of Arabic proper names, by Greek or Roman writers, noticed in the present work, appear slight indeed. Strabo supplies far more violent specimens of mutation, when illustrating the common practice of his country: Αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταπτώσεως, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, πολλαί· καθάπερ, τὸν Δαριηκὴν, Δαρειὸν ἐκάλεσαν, τὸν δὲ Φαρζίριν, Παρύσατιν, Ἀταργατὴν δὲ, τὴν Ἀθαραν, Δερκέτω δ' αὐτὴν Κτησίας καλεῖ.

The dropping the middle syllable, to form Δαρειον from Δαρι[ηκ]ην, and the alternate omissions of the middle, and of the initial and final syllables, to form Αθαραν, or Δερκετω, from Αταρ[γατ]ην, Α[ταργατη]ν, is,

the Greek *theta*, for the Arabic *dal*; as *Th*umata for *D*ama, *Th*abba for *D*ahban, *Th*eba for *T*eba or Deba, *Th*auane for *D*oan *: of the *s*, and *t*, for *d*, as *S*aphar for *D*afar, *T*amala for Al *D*emlou: of the *s* for *z*, as Sibi, or Sesippi portus, for Zebid: of the Greek *phi*, for the Arabic *be*, as Sapphar for Sabber: of the *n* for *l*; "The Arabic termination *in* for the Hebrew *el*, is not an unusual change." †

By the foregoing various sources of obscurity, (not needlessly to swell the catalogue, with many similar, which might easily be added,) the connection which really subsists, between the geography of ancient, and that of modern Arabia, has been so disguised, as to be rendered almost undiscernible. Yet, when once duly attended to, when fairly brought into notice, and vigilantly kept in view, instead of causes of confusion, they become conductors to truth, and rules for the restoration of the primitive settlement and nomenclature of the country.

however, quite after the manner of the orientals, and probably copied from them by the Greeks.

* Since this Introduction was written, the author has met with an incidental recognition of the change of *Doan* into Thauane, in Burckhardt: "Dhana, which I suppose to be the ancient Thoana."— Syria, p. 410.; and again, p. 443., "Thoana, which is the present Dhana."

† Robinson's Palestine, vol. ii. p. 128. "Thus, for Heb. *Jezreel*, we have *Zer'in*; instead of Wady *Isma'il* (Ishmael), we heard Wady *Isma'in*; and the name *Beit Jibrin* also occurs, in Arabic writers, under the form *Beit Jibril*, i. e. Gabriel."— Ib. ut suprà, note

In the application of these rules, the writer has governed himself by two canons; from which, he has himself derived uniform satisfaction, and which, from his own limited experience, he feels assured, will prove still more satisfactory, when put more largely to the test by future inquiries. These are: 1. To account the ancient authorities right, until they be clearly proved wrong. 2. In identifying ancient places and tribes, not to rest satisfied with mere resemblance, or even identity, of ancient and modern names, until confirmed by every available collateral evidence, both as to the positive sites, and the relative localities.

It seems altogether owing to the neglect of these simple, and obvious first principles of geographical investigation, that so little has hitherto been effected, towards the analysis of Arabian geography; and that what little has been done, amounts to nothing better than good guess-work. Thus, guided solely by the apparent agreement of names, M. d'Anville, in his "Géographie Ancienne," has inferred, sometimes rightly, sometimes erroneously, the identity of various detached points. But if, in identifying Haly, with Æli, and the Alilæi; Ghesan with the Gasandi; Al Demlou with Tamala; and Dafar with Saphar, ... he chanced to be correct; in many similar

cases, on the other hand, he was egregiously erroneous. He has confounded the *Rhaunati pagus* of Ptolemy, situated on the Arabian Gulf, with the town of *Rouiné*, also on the Gulf, but several days' journey to the northward of the ancient *Rhaunati;* which appears, from the accurate correspondence in positive and relative position, to be the same with Hank-Krue, the modern name of a town on the Hedjáz coast, of which Rhaunati is the anagram. Again, he has transferred the *Læmus mons* of antiquity, a chain uniformly described by the ancients, as commencing in the neighbourhood of Iambia, or Yembo, to Mount Ialamlam, south of Mekka. He has confused Sochchor, a city placed by Ptolemy near Sabe Regia, or Sanaa, and answering to the modern Shchra, or Sahhar, (pronounced Sachchar, and, by the Bedouins, Sochchor,) the first stage from Sanaa, on the route to Mekka, with the district of Seger or Sagûr, some hundred miles distant, and the central district of the southern coast. And he has transplanted the Vodona of the Alexandrine geographer, a place in the mountain region, between Sanaa and Nedjran, to the province of Omân, and neighbourhood of Muscat, where he happens to find a town, at present bearing the same name.

In the following work, no one important posi-

tion has been laid down as verified, without its having been previously subjected to every possible variety of test: such as, correspondence with the site, apparently assigned by the ancients, while still preserving the ancient name; correspondence, further, with neighbouring ascertained localities; and correspondence, lastly, with the direction of the coasts, . . . with transverse lines, verifying the relative bearings to remoter points of the peninsula, . . . and with measurements, showing the coinciding connection of the ancient and modern position with adjacent places, in point of distance.

Having thus stated the principal rules of inquiry suggested, both by the known laws of the Arabic idiom, and by an extensive survey of the geographical phenomena, it may now be the fit time, to put the reader briefly in possession of some of the leading results obtained. This can be done here, only in the way of statement: the proofs will be found, in their proper places, in the ensuing memoir.

In the scriptural branch of the subject, then, the settlements of Cush and Joktan, the first colonists, have been traced, by the blended lights of classical, oriental, and modern geography, over the whole face of the ancient Arabia Felix, or the entire country south of Medina; and

parted off by a line passing from Yembo, across the peninsula, and along the southern shore of the Persian Gulf. This vast region, the Arabia Felix of Ptolemy, may be assigned as the proper country of the families of Cush and Joktan: although the Cushites originally extended northward, to the head of the Persian Gulf, and it would seem, also, to the vicinity of Madian or Midian, near the head of the Red Sea; while the colonies from Ishmael, on the other hand, eventually penetrated southward, to the borders, and to the heart, of the province of Yemen.

The settlements of Ishmael, Keturah, and Esau, again, have been tracked throughout the whole of Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deserta, or the line of country extending from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates ("from Shur to Havilah," in the language of the sacred penman); a tract, lying to the south of Palestine and Cœlo-Syria, and stretching southward, along the border of the Happy Arabia, which it occasionally crosses, from gulf to gulf.

In the classical branch, by a more careful analysis of the ancient geographers, and a more accurate collation of their statements with the modern face of the country, . . . among the names and positions which more literally correspond with each other, the Carbæ, or Cerbani, of the

classics, one of the most conspicuous nations of ancient Arabia, become plainly identified with the chief nation of the Hedjáz, denominated by Burckhardt, "the mighty tribe of Harb" (pronounced Charb), or Beni Harb *; a people, subdivided into at least twenty formidable tribes, and composing, at the present day, nearly the entire population of the Mahometan holy land: the national appellation, Harb or Charb, it will hereafter be seen, is merely the *nom de guerre* of the warlike race of Kedar. Again, in the Zamareni of Pliny, we easily recognize the great tribe and district of Shammar, a midland Bedouin people, situated between the gulf of Akaba and the head of the Persian Gulf; in his Amathei, the inhabitants of Iemama; and in the Asateni and Inapha of Ptolemy, the natives of the Astan river, and the tribe of Hanifa.† In the Doreni

* "All Arab tribes are styled *Beni*; but this term is often lost *under a more recent appellation.*"—Burckhardt, Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 19.

† "Hanifa et Maddar."— D'Anville. These tribes are also mentioned by Abulfeda, among the inhabitants of Iemama: واليمامة والحجر بني حنيفة وبعض مضر *Alyamamah* et *Alhogr* habitacula sunt filiorum *Hanifah*."— Descript. Arab. p. 60. ap. Geogr. Min. The *Maddar* are dropt in the Latin version; probably from the imperfect acquaintance of the interpreter with the idiom, or the geography, or both. But this tribe, which d'Anville, as well as Abulfeda, couples with the Hanifa, furnishes a key to another place of the classics: they are clearly the *Rhadamæi* of Pliny, a people of Iemama, of whose classical name, *Maddar* is the anagram. (See p. 43. ad. calc.) Pliny joins the Rhadamæi to

and Mocritæ, of the latter geographer, we have the inhabitants of Zohran and Mekhra: in his Elesori and Sabæi, and in the Elamitæ of Pliny, we have the El Asyr, the Beni Sabya, and the Beni Yam, of Burckhardt; three ancient and powerful tribes, still occupying the very positions assigned them by the classical writers, along the coast of the Arabian Gulf, to the southward. In the Sabiê and Al Saruat of d'Anville, we recover the Rhamanitæ of Strabo, a Sabean stock from Cush, with their capital Mar-Syaba; and the Saritæ of Ptolemy, with their metropolis Saraca, now Ayal Sorah; two tribes or nations located by those ancients in the foregoing districts, which still preserve their names. And, that we may not exhaust the topic at this stage, to select but a few more specimens of obvious agreement, ... Chaalla and Chaulan, Huæla or Hyela, and Haulan, the Adramitæ and Hadramáut *, the Omanitæ and Omân, will sufficiently illustrate the unquestionable connection, which subsists between the ancient, and modern, districts and tribes of the Arabian peninsula.

But this process of direct identification, sup-

the Minæi; who, it has been already intimated, were inhabitants of Iemama. — Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 32.

* Strictly the same; Adramitæ being the Nabathean pronunciation for the inhabitants of Hadramáut. The dialect of their neighbours, the Nabatheans, was that naturally followed by the Greeks and Romans.

plies the geographical student with still further facilities: it may even enable him to verify the locality of nations, which have long ceased to be known by their ancient names. Thus, for example, a celebrated people of Arabia, the Minæi, whose national appellative seems to survive only in the Greek and Roman classics, are fixed, by the joint testimony of Pliny and Ptolemy, (the former determining their northern, the latter their southern, boundary,) in the great province of Kardjé or Iemama *, immediately above the districts of Mekhra and Zohran, and southward of the inland mountain chain, along which lies the route from Katiff to Mekka, and at the northern base of which is situated the Giratha of Ptolemy, now Kariatain. From east to west, the Minæi stretched the entire breadth of the peninsula; their eastern frontier touching the Gherreans, on the Persian Gulf, while Carman Regia, now Karn-al-Manzil †, their metropolis,

* Abulfeda speaks of Al Kardjé, alternately, as a valley of Iemama, and a place in the valley of Iemama. — Descript. Arab. pp. 61, 62.

والخرج موضع باليمامه And again, وبوادي اليمامه الخرج

I apprehend Al Kardjé to be both a city of, and a synonyme for, the province of Iemama: Ptolemy gives *Chargata*, as a town of the Minæi, E. S. E. of Mekka, and oposite Mount Gazuan; and one of the latest maps places *Kerje*, as a province, in the same position, agreeing with the site of Iemama in Mr. Sale's map.

† Known, also, (as well as the city of Yemen, mistaken by d'Anville for the Minæan capital,) by the name of Almakarana. "The prince of

is seated only twenty-one leagues E. S. E. of Mekka.

If we inquire to what extent the process of direct identification may be carried, in its application to the cities and towns of the peninsula, without borrowing a single example from the more familiar nominal coincidences accumulated by d'Anville, the names of—

Aina	Ayoun
Biabanna	Bubban
Cane	Canim
Chargata *	Kardjé *
Catara	Catura
Daba	Dobba
Deva	Devran
Areregia †	Hargiah †

Mekka, called Sultan Sheriff, is one of the most potent princes in all Arabia; his residence is usually at *Almacharana*, seated on the top of a high mountain, of difficult access."— Morden, p 390. Almacarana is the anagram of Al Carman, — the Carman Regia of Ptolemy.

* In this name, we have the anagram of *Jerah*, or *Jerach* (Ἱεραχ), as it is written by Ptolemy; *Jerachæorum insula*, it is further remarkable, lies off the coast, opposite *Chargata*, or *Kardjé*. The Minæi would, hence, appear to be of the family of Jerah, the son of Joktan, styled by the Arabs "the Father of Yemen."

† Hargiah. This town stands a curious example of the influence of commerce in corrupting proper names. Hargiah, Areregia, Αρη βασιλειον. This name clearly passed from Roman traders to the Greek geographer; who, misled into taking *sound* for *sense*, rendered the Latin corruption Are Regia, by the corresponding Greek terms, Αρη Βασιλειον, in which the original, Hargiah, disappears altogether.

This kind of etymological metamorphosis was not unusual among the Greeks and Romans; as may be seen in a precisely similar case, noticed

Inapha	Hanifa
Hormanus	Harmin
Magorum Sinus	Magas
Macala	Macula
Masthala	Mascalat
Nagiah	Nagiah
Rheda	Rodda
Salemia	Selma
Soaca	Souk
Sochchor*	Sochchor*
Sameni	Samman
Pteros	Tsor
Thar or Ithar	Tarut
Zaaram	Djār or Dsjār

bear ample evidence, by the agreements which they establish between its ancient and its modern towns and cities, . . . an identity, not in names only, but also in geographical positions, . . . that

by Dr. Wells. "The chief city of the Moabites in this country was Ar, called by the Greek writers *Areopolis*, and thought by them to have been so named, from their worshipping the god of war; called by the Greeks Αρης, by the Latins *Mars*. But the *likeness* between the Hebrew word *Ar* and the Greek word *Ares*, seems to be the only foundation for this etymology."— Sacred Geograph. vol. i. p. 300. edit. 12mo. Lond. 1820.

Burckhardt notices a similar corruption, "The *Hieromax* of the Greeks, and *Jarmouk* of the Israelites."— Trav. in Syria, p. 270.

* Even the effects of the Arabic *points* on pronunciation, were, it appears, noted and preserved by the ancients. Thus the *Teshid*, which doubles the letter over which it is placed, is accurately given by Ptolemy, in his spelling of Sochchor صحّر.

Arabia, at the present day, still retains numerous *obvious* characters and land-marks, of its classical nomenclature and localities.

The class of coincidences, of which the preceding examples afford specimens, required, it is plain, only a diligent comparison of ancient with modern authorities, in order to the restoration, so far, of the ancient geography. The real difficulties of adjustment, commence with obstacles presented by certain ascertained peculiarities of the Arabic idiom. The laws of these verbal obscurities, once, however, investigated and explained, become, instead of causes of confusion, so many safe and sure rules for further restoration.

A few preliminary examples of what has been effected, in the present work, by a strict attention to these rules, will best serve to illustrate, not only, the ground gained in this particular inquiry, but the valuable consequences, also, which will follow, from the adoption of a sound principle of investigation by future geographers, towards rectifying and completing our knowledge of the ancient world.

The *anagram*, is a prominent feature of several oriental dialects, and a peculiar characteristic of the Arabic idiom; yet, in geographical investigations, it has been, hitherto, almost wholly overlooked. The learned Bochart is the only scholar,

so far as the writer is aware, who has at all applied the anagram to the purposes of geography; and to this application, are owing some of his happiest verifications. But the apparently limited knowledge of the oriental languages, possessed by this illustrious scholar, necessarily arrested his progress, in restoring the scriptural nomenclature of Arabia; or rather, that branch of it, which respects the primitive settlements of Cush and Joktan, to which he confined his researches. Of the prevalence of the anagram, in particular, he seems to have been but partially aware; at least, he has been very sparing in its employment, as a geographical cypher.* What he accomplished, even on this imperfect scale, ought, however, to have led later orientalists, to far larger inductions: yet, since his day, nothing, or next to nothing, appears to have been done for the illustration of ancient geography, sacred or profane, by the use of a clue so simple as the anagram.

By the application of this rule, and of the laws of the Arabic idiom, respecting the interchange of consonants, and the different pronunciations of the same consonant (Rules 4. and 5.), the following results, among many others, have been obtained.

* *Corodamum* for *Hadoram*, is, perhaps, the most successful instance of the application, by Bochart, of his principle of *Trajection*. — Sacr. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. xx. ad fin.

The *Debæ*, or *Dedebæ*, a people described by nearly all the ancient geographers as inhabiting the coast of the Hedjáz, have been identified with the *Zebeyde* of Burckhardt; the rectified anagram changing *Zebeyde* into *Zedeybe*, and the idiomatic interchange of the *d* and *z* restoring the classical name, as written by Agatharchides, *Dedebæ*.* The relative geographical positions, in this remarkable example, place the identity beyond question; the country of the Dedebæ being described by the ancients, in perfect conformity with Burckhardt's description of the territory of the Zebeyde, as intersected by the Betiu or Bardilloi river, the only stream in Hedjáz which reaches the sea; and as extending, equidistantly, north and south of that river; namely, to the vicinity of Iambia or Yembo, on the north, and to the neighbourhood of the Alilæi, or inhabitants of Haly, in a southern direction. The sameness of manners, habits, and occupations will complete, if, indeed, it be requisite further to complete, the conclusive proof, that the Dedebæ and the Zebeyde are one and the same people.

Another specimen of restoration, equally striking, may be selected from the same district. The

* Τὸν ἀστυγείτονα τῆς ὀρεινῆς χερσοῦ Δεδεβαὶ κατοικοῦσιν'—Agatharch. De Rubro Mari. p. 59. apud Geograph. Vet. Min. tom. i. edit. Oxon. 1698.

Copar vicus of Ptolemy, a town of this region, long resisted the author's attempts to trace it, in the topography of modern Arabia; although its site in Ptolemy, seemed well defined by its relative position, between the *Betius flumen* * and *Iambia*. At length, in M. d'Anville's map, his eye incidentally caught the anagrammatized name "*Ar*buc ou *Ra*buc," in the very situation indicated by Ptolemy; a circumstance which immediately disclosed, in the ancient name, a third form of the anagram, (Ptolemy writing *p* for *b*, according to the native pronunciation,) and identified *Copar vicus* with the well-known town of Rabegh, pronounced Rapoc, the three-fold form shifting thus, *Ar*boe, *Ra*boe Cob*ar*. †

On the principle of the anagram, again, together with that of the different pronunciation

* Professor Robinson has a remark, which may serve as a running commentary on nearly all the *fluvii* and *flumina* of classical Arabia. —"Here, and elsewhere, in speaking of running waters, I mean of course *the waters of the rainy season, as they flow off.* At this time, there was very little (if any) running water in the peninsula. *We saw none.*"— Script. Res. vol. ii. p. 128. note.

† This form of the anagram, is that of most frequent recurrence in the classical geographers: not unnaturally, for it gives the *ipsissima nomina* of the original, supposing the Arabic, like the Greek or Latin, to be written from left to right. The transposition may be easily presented to the eye, by simply underwriting the names in Roman letters, and reading them after the European fashion: —

مـغـر رابـع

Copar Rhadam [aei]

of the settled Arabs and the Bedouins (Rule 7.), Gerrha *, and the Gerræi, a once famous commercial city and people, placed, by consent of antiquity, on the Persian Gulf, opposite the isles of Bahrein, recover their scriptural names and Ishmaelitish origin, by a very simple rectification, Gerr*ha* ... *Ha*ger †, *Gerræi* ... *Agræi*; a correction demonstrated by the facts, that their country, the modern province of Bahrein, is, by the Arabs, to this day, also denominated *Hagar*, ... its capital, according to the Arabian historians, bearing the same name; that the adjoining districts are peopled by Ptolemy, with the *Themi*, and the Kadaræ or Agræi, manifestly Ishmaelitish tribes; and that the entire region, is named Hagar by all the geographers, European and Oriental, from Abulfeda to d'Anville.

On the same principles, the *Cedrei* or *Cedareni*, and the *Gedranitæ* of Pliny, the *Kanraitæ* or *Kadraitæ* of Arrian, and the *Kerdanitæ* or *Kedranitæ* of Stephanus, are all resolved into the one great Ishmaelite stock, the Kedar of Scripture, and the Beni Kedar of Mahometan history;

* M. d'Anville, and Mr. Gibbon after him, have confounded the ancient Gerrha with the modern city of Katif; erroneously, as will appear in another place.

† Gerrha is said, by Strabo, to have been founded by Chaldean exiles: but the primitive Chaldeans, it will be seen elsewhere, were Cushite Bedouins.

while, under the various disguises of Catanitæ, Katabeni, Cottabani, Kithebanitæ, Anchitæ or Angitæ, Katabania, Kabatanum, (a variety of names and nations, which it has utterly baffled and bewildered the skill of classical scholarship, and the science of geographical research, to decypher,) we recover the one primitive Arabian family, the Joktanites of the book of Genesis, and the Beni Kahtan * of Arabian history and of the present day: this primeval race reaching now, as in the remotest ages, from the heart of the peninsula, to the Indian Ocean, and from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, to the mouth of the Persian Gulf; and their numerous tribes, with the prior colonies from Cush, and the subsequent colonists from Ishmael †, Keturah, and Esau,

* Beni Kahtan, is alike the equivalent for the Catabeni, and Catabania, of the classic writers: the name of the people, according to a familiar Arab usage, standing as that of the country, or its capital. Burckhardt thus notices the existence of this usage in modern Arabia: —"The names of Beni Obeid, and Beni Djoma (two districts of the Haouran), are probably derived *from Arab tribes*, which *anciently* settled here; but no one could tell me the origin of these appellations. The inhabitants do not pretend to be descendants of those tribes; but say, that they (the above-named districts) were their dwelling-place, from time immemorial."— Trav. in Syria and the Holy Land, pp. 268, 269. — The inversion, Beni Kahtan... Katabeni, can be well illustrated, from a similar inversion of a proper name, noticed by M. Heeren: "Chroniclers such as *Mirchond* and his son, called, to distinguish him from his father, *Khondemir*."— Researches, vol. i. p. 90.

† The Ishmaelite names, as they occur in the classics, present similar varieties of modification, with those of the Joktanites: for example, Araga and Araganitæ, for Agara and Agaranitæ; Nagara, Anagrana, and

presenting a living exemplification of the truth of Scripture, second only to the case and fortunes of the Jews.

By the sixth rule, grounded on the peculiarities of spelling or pronunciation, distinguishing the several dialects of the Arabic, many names, hitherto set down for corruptions of the Greeks or Romans, prove to be perfectly correct: for example; the *Agræi* of the classic writers, instead of being a false spelling of the Scripture terms Hagarites or Hagarenes, is the name itself,

πολις Αγραων (now Nedjran, or "the city of Nedjran," هجر نجران), for Agara, Agarena, and the city of the Hagerenes or Agræi: the *various readings* of the Greeks suffice, alone, to restore the true scriptural and patriarchal nomenclature.

The idiomatic correctness of the phrase, πολις Αγραων, in Strabo, as the name of Nedjran, is established by the highest authorities: —"هجر [Hagar] Pagus, oppidum: *Himjaritarum idiomate ita dicunt:* هجر نجران [Hagar Nedjran] urbs Nedjran." Gol. in voc. هجر.

This use of *Hagar*, in the Hamyaritic dialect, as the equivalent for *town* or *village*, evidently owed its origin to the multitude of Ishmaelite towns in Arabia denominated *Hagar*, from the mother of their race. Hagar Nedjran, then, may be more properly rendered, *Hagar of the Agræi, or Hagarenes: Nedjran* being the softer, or Bedouin pronunciation, for Agrana, Nagrana, or Anagrana; all only other forms of Agarena.

The singular queries put by a Druse Sheikh to Burekhardt, with that cited by Mr. Conder, from the Druses' Catechism, clearly prove *Nedjran* and *Hagar* to be one and the same name and place: —"Are the towns of Hadjar and Nedjran in the Yemen known to you? Is Hadjar in ruins? And who will rebuild it?"— Trav. in Syria, p. 305. "Is Nedjran in Yemen, in ruins or not?"— Mod. Trav. vol. iv. The *Hadjar and Nedjran* of the Druses, is obviously *Hagar Nedjran*, or the city of Nedjran; and accordingly Nedjran only, is mentioned in their catechism.

written according to its pronunciation in the Nabathean dialect; the same remark applies to the Itureans of the classics, this being the Nabathean enunciation of the Jetur of Genesis, and the modern Djedour. Many similar modifications of names, in remoter parts of Arabia, may be found in Ptolemy, and the ancient geographers; and very naturally; as the Greeks and Romans would, of course, adopt the pronunciation of the Nabatheans, a people adjacent and subject to themselves.

The frequent suppression, in the Arabic, of the initial or of the final syllables of proper names (Rule 2.), is another feature of the language, attention to which is often essential to the process of verification. Thus Major Rennell points out "*Maan* or *Mahan*, a fortress on the pilgrims' road to Damascus, in such a situation, as to make it likely to be the *Theman* of Eusebius;" and Makrizi, the Egyptian historian, in a passage cited by Burckhardt, preserves to us, in a contracted form, one of the most famous ports mentioned in the Old Testament, that of Ezion-geber. His words are, "near Aila was formerly situated a large and handsome town, called Aszioun." But contractions of this kind are of constant occurrence. In the instances of *Mali* from *Abimael*, and *Drimati* from *Hadoram*, Bochart has

indicated the fact; but without connecting, as he should have done, the matter of fact, with a rule or usage of the language.

By the application of this rule in the present volume, the Darræ of Ptolemy, a people on the coast of the Arabian Gulf, north of Yembo, are identified with the ancient Kedarites or Beni Kedar; a verification established by the remarkable coincidence, that the town of Kedheyra (preserving the Ishmaelite patronymic in full), is found, at the present day, apparently on the very site assigned to the Darræ. The Darrhæ of Pliny, on the other hand, a people of Oman, where the town of Darrha, their probable dwelling-place, still exists, appear to be similarly contracted from a different name, that of Hadoram*; the name of this Joktanite patriarch being legible, in every part of that province, and in every variety of anagram and contraction; as Chatramis, Dachare-Moizæ, Drimati, Corodamum, Ras al Had. This last denomination (we may observe by the way) seems to establish, conclusively, the felicitous conjecture of Bochart, that *Corodamum* is only the anagram of *Hadoram;* the *Corodamum promontorium* of Ptolemy appearing manifestly, though the identity be questioned by so high an authority as d'Anville, to be the Ras

* LXX. Ὁδορρά.

al Had (for Ras al Hadoram) of modern Arabian geography.

The Bliulei from *Ad*beel, . . . the Sameni from Masma, put for Masæmanes, . . . and the Sammei, by a similar contraction, from *Mib*sam, . . . may be instaneed, as further probable exemplifieations of the abridgement, aeeording to known Arabic usage, of proper names, whieh may be unequivoeally seen, in other examples from the aneients; as in the substitution of Gebanitæ, for Githebanitæ or Kithebanitæ (the same with the Katabeni or Beni Kahtan), where the eommentators on Pliny are quite aware, that the two names belong to one and the same people, while they eonfess their inability to give any aceount of the variation; and again, in the modern instance of Kataba for Katabana, a eity of Yemen, situated between Sanaa and Aden, whieh appears in Ptolemy, under the still more eontracted form of Bana; the capital of the aneient Katabania.

One more ease, only, needs here be addueed, to illustrate the etymological value of the principle adopted; namely, that of converting causes of verbal obseurity, into rules for restoration: it respeets the incorporation, and, in oecasional instances, the transposition of the artiele (Rule 3.) in Arabie proper names: a characteristic of the idiom, whieh has frequently disguised those names

altogether, and generally made them pass for corruptions, as they appear in the classics.

Lachsa, for example, for El Aehsa, or El Hassa, is the modern name of a city and district, bordering on the Persian Gulf, in the neighbourhood of the Pearl Coast; and the contraction supplies an important clue to several names in Ptolemy, hitherto undecyphered, although, in fact, preserved with strictest correctness, by that eminent geographer.

Thus, we meet *L*athrippa for El Iathreb, *L*abris for El Iabrin, *L*æceni for El Anizeh, (a name doubly affected, by the incorporation of the article, and by the use of the anagram,) *L*a'atha for El Howta, and Ocelis for Ul Cella.*

The obscurity caused by the dropping of the article, in one mode of spelling, and by its transposition, in another mode of spelling, the same proper name, may be elucidated alternately, from Pliny or Ptolemy, and from d'Anville. So, in the Roman geographer, we find Saiace for Sekialé or El Saiak,—a town, according to Pliny, belonging to the Zamareni †, and placed by d'Anville in the territory of the Beni Shammar, unquestionably the same people.

* So, apud Steph. Byzant., Acanne emporium, for *Al Cane*, the Cane emporium of Ptolemy; and so, apud Richardson's Arabic and Persic Dictionary, *A*crit, for Crete.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. s. 32., op. tom. ii. p. 719.

The effects of the euphonistic modulation, by the classic geographers, of some Arabic letters, has been sufficiently exemplified, in the enunciation of the eighth and last rule, for removing the causes of verbal obscurity.

It remains, only, to say a few words, on the construction of the maps engraved for this volume; and on the different characters adopted, in laying down the general nomenclature.

The present maps are formed upon that of M. d'Anville, corrected, conformably with the results of the latest actual surveys; especially that made by order of the East India Company, along the western coast of the Persian Gulf; and that made by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, along the southern coast of the Peninsula, from Cape Ras-al-Had, to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; parts of Arabia, heretofore, least known to Europeans. For these valuable additions, the author is indebted to the scientific zeal of Mr. Walker, hydrographer to the Honourable East India Company, and engraver to the Board of Admiralty.

With respect to the varieties of character employed in the first map, it may be convenient to give a brief notice to the reader: the names, then, of the chief tribes, or nations, of the five great patriarchal stocks, are engraved in five

varieties of characters; those termed "stone letters," being employed to mark the first colonists, . . . or the race of Cush.

The author cannot close these prefatory remarks, without bearing testimony, from the results of his own experience throughout the present inquiry, to the inimitable accuracy of Burckhardt, and to the felicity of conjecture so frequently evinced in the Sacred Geography of Bochart.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 49. line 9. for "29° 30′" read "29° 30′."
135. line 7. from bottom, dele "†."
145. line 9. for "neighourhood" read "neighbourhood."
154. line 11. for "son" read "grandson."
165. note †, for "Gen. viii. 9. 1." read "Gen. x. 29—31."
279. line 17. for "fifth" read "sixth."
338. line 27. for "31° 5′" read "31° 5′."
350. line 5. for "30° 50′" read "30° 50′."

VOL. II.

Page 42. line 2. for "17°" read "18°."
47. line 28. for "Zimran" read "Zepho."
78. note * for "2 Maccab. xii." read "1 Maccab. xii. 5—13."
176. lines 18. and 24. for "seventy-*four*" read "seventy-*five*."
Part I. Section VII., and Appendix passim, for "Novaïri" read "Al-Kazwînî."

PART I.

THE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ARABIA.

PART I.

SECTION I.

SETTLEMENTS OF CUSH.

In approaching a subject of so remote antiquity as the scriptural branch of the following inquiry, a correct estimate of the general nature and value of the evidences on which it turns may have essential influence, on the conduct, and the issue, of the whole argument.

Towards forming such an estimate, valuable aid, it is conceived, may be derived from proper attention to a few preliminary considerations.

1. The proverbial attachment of the Arabians, in all ages, to the manners, customs, and remembrances, of primeval antiquity, may well be placed first among these considerations: since, by uni-

versal consent of authorities, this predilection stands foremost among their national characteristics.*

But the immemorial operation of this propensity, among the Arabs upon their native soil, in preserving, and handing down the scriptural names of the primitive cities, and districts, and colonists of the peninsula †, can be brought to the test of a matter-of-fact criterion: namely, the conduct of the Saracens, when they became masters of the East; where it was their uniform practice

* A curious illustration in point, of the permanence and fidelity of Arab tradition, occurred to Colonel Chesney, on his first visit to the Euphrates, and was related by him to the author, on his return to England in 1832. "An encampment of the Ageyl Arabs having arrived in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, I went to visit their camp; in the centre of which I saw floating, to my surprise, the royal standard of Spain. I endeavoured to obtain an explanation of the appearance of *the three stripes* in an Arab camp; and having an excellent interpreter with me, I set him to make inquiry. He asked many common Arabs: but they were ignorant of the meaning of it. At length, a very old Arab, on being questioned, replied, that 'when their fathers went to Barbary, and thence passed to the conquest of Spain, the Sultan [Caliph], in reward of their great services, bestowed on the Ageyl tribe, for their banner, *the royal standard of Spain.*'"

† In Arabia, as elsewhere, the scriptural nomenclature is the first great landmark of history: hingeing, as it so obviously does, on that primeval law of topography, which derives the names of places from those of persons; of cities and kingdoms from their founders, as well as of tribes and nations from their progenitors. "Quare et a veritate non aliena istæc conjectura esse videtur, eandem terræ dividendæ consuetudinem *a restituto statim post diluvium mundo*, secundum domos ac familias, ipso Deo jubente, . . . in usu fuisse, ita ut regna ac provinciæ a primis possessoribus suis sua iterum sortitæ sint nomina; quam consuetudinem, Israëlitæ deinde, in occupanda terra beata, semper frequentarunt."— M. J. E. Müller. Diss. Ap. Thes. Vet. Test. tom. i. p. 546.

to *restore* the scriptural nomenclature, which had been lost in the successive changes of Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman dominion.

Dean Prideaux had the merit of first directing the attention of the learned world to this truly characteristic national trait. It is only right, therefore, to give the fact, with its examples, in the words of that eminent divine. "The Arabs, being the most ancient nation in the world,... who have never been, by any conquest, dispossessed, or driven out of their country, but have there always remained, in a continued descent, from the first planters of it, even to this day; and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their country, they have still retained those same names of places which were at first given them; and, on their gaining the empire of the East, restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several ages extinct, by the intermediate changes that had happened. Thus, the ancient metropolis of Egypt, which, from Mezraim, the son of Ham, the first planter of that country after the flood, was called Mesri; and afterwards, for many ages, had the name of Memphis; was, on the Arabs making themselves masters of Egypt, again called Mesri, and hath retained that name ever since. And, for the same reason, the city of

Tyrus, which was anciently called Zor, or Zur (from whence the whole country of Syria had its name), hath, since it fell into the hands of the Arabs, on the erecting of their empire in the East, been again called Sor, and, in those parts, is at this day known by no other name. And by the same means, the city of Palmyra, hath again recovered the old name of Tadmor, by which it was called in the time of Solomon; and is now known, in the East, by no other name." *

Antecedently to all further proofs, the inference suggested by these facts is equally obvious and inevitable. For the people who thus restored the land-marks of Scripture history, in foreign countries, would be still more likely to retain those land-marks, in their own. † Hence the his-

* Connection of O. and N. T. vol. i. pp. 79, 80. ed. 8vo. 1820. To make the value of this proof more sensible, Prideaux instances a like practice, near home, in the case of the Welsh; who still call the localities of England by their British names.

† Upon the historical value of the names of places in the East, the judgment of Prideaux is in harmony with the experience of Professor Robinson. "There is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries have had nothing to do, and of which they have apparently, in every age, known little or nothing — I mean *the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people.* This is a truly national and native tradition, not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters, but drawn in by the peasant with his mother's milk, *and deeply seated in the genius of the Semitic languages.* The Hebrew names of places continued current, in their Aramæan form, long after the times of the New Testament; and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people, in spite of the efforts made by

torical value, in collating the ancient with the modern geography of Arabia, of all agreements between its classical, or its oriental nomenclature, and the primitive scriptural denominations. It follows, that, in order to a just estimate, as a whole, of the series of *nominal* agreements represented in the accompanying maps, there must be mental reference, in judging of the individual agreements, to the permanence of Arabian nomenclature, as stated and exemplified above by Prideaux.

2. The historical value of the coincidences in question, as they present themselves individually, once fixed in the mind, the collective evidences will assume their just importance: evidences of nomenclature not dependent upon any single source, but supplied by the successive, and concurrent, streams of Cushite, Joktanite*, and

Greeks and Romans to supplant them by others, derived from their own tongues. After the Mahommedan conquest, when the Aramæan language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance; and have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedawîn, even unto our own day, almost in the same form, in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures." (Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c. vol. i. pp. 375, 376.) How much higher the historical value of Scripture names, preserved by the unadulterated Arab on his native soil.

* "Quand on entend, dans les montagnes de l'*Yemen*, et en *Hadramâut*, nommer tant de villes qui, à ce que disent les Arabes, ont été bâties par les Hamjâres, ou qui, pour parler plus juste, sont si anciennes qu'on

Abrahamic colonization. To an argument thus constructed and combined, we may safely apply the saying of Solomon . . . "a three-fold cord is not quickly broken." Whatever weight may attach to single lines of proof, or separate examples of agreement, it is clear, on every received principle of criticism, that the general argument, in an inquiry like the present, must be not merely enlarged, but most materially strengthened, by their concurrence.

3. My next preliminary remark respects an apparent difficulty, in the patriarchal settlement of Arabia, which, however, on a nearer view, will be found to oppose no real bar to its investigation. It is a familiar fact, that those of the learned who have been most nearly agreed in their general ideas of that settlement, have differed widely in their local adjustments of the several patriarchal stocks. This difference of opinion is chiefly observable, in assigning the settlements of Cush, and of Keturah; stocks, whose history is naturally involved in comparative obscurity, by the primeval antiquity of the

en ignore l'origine, et qui ont tant d'affinité avec ceux que *Moïse* allègue, on pourroit croire, que cet écrivain sacré ait voulû nous donner, dans la Genèse, chap. x. 7. 26—29., une liste de villes Arabes, dont *Khus* et *Joktan* auroient été ou les capitales, ou les villes qui auroient fourni des colonies au reste du pays."— Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, pp. 250, 251.

one family, and by the slight and cursory notices, in the Old Testament, of the other. But, in all the original families, by whom the peninsula is understood to have been peopled, we can trace one common cause of obscurity, and ground for diversity of opinion, in the adjustment of their respective localities, ... the recurrence, in the founders of the several races, in several instances, of the same names. Thus, the name of *Havilah*, is common to a son of Cush, and to a son of Joktan: that of *Sheba*, is borne alike, by one of the sons of Joktan, and by two other patriarchs, grandsons, the one of Cush, the other of Keturah: that of *Dedan*, again, designates two more Arabian patriarchs, brethren of the last-named Shebas, and grandsons, consequently, of Cush, and of Keturah; while the name of Tema, or Teman, occurs in the Mosaic catalogue of the sons of Ishmael, and recurs in that of the immediate descendants of Esau.

That, under these circumstances, there should exist differences of opinion among learned men, as to the proper origin, or positions, of Arab tribes, bearing one or other of these common names, was naturally to be expected, and indeed, scarcely to be avoided. But whatever uncertainty these differences may seem to throw, upon the geographical position of any particular branch, or

branches, of the patriarchal colonists, it is highly important to observe and recollect, that they cannot, in the slightest degree, embarrass inquiry into the general question of the patriarchal colonization of the peninsula. With reference to this question, the only point of importance to remark is this, that, for every repetition of the same name, in different families, occurring in the Mosaic records, corresponding repetitions, coinciding double, or treble, denominations, are uniformly to be met with, both in the ancient, and in the modern geography of Arabia. Thus we have Sabeans of the Euphrates, Sabeans of Omân and the Persian Gulf, and the Sabeans of Yemen. Which of these tribes descend from Cush, which from Joktan, and which from Keturah, though capable, as it seems to the present writer, of the most satisfactory proof, is a question of minor moment: enough, that three, or rather four, distinct, and widely-separated nations of Sabeans are to be found within the peninsula, answering to the Seba, and the three Shebas, mentioned in the first books of Moses.

In this memoir, the appropriate localities will, in all such cases, be assigned according to the laws of probability, and by careful comparison of the judgments of the best authorities with the results of actual investigation; but, whether as-

signed with perfect accuracy, or not, the reader will always be careful to keep in mind, that the main evidence (the existence of the several tribes) in its bearings on the general question remains unshaken.

With these antecedent considerations in view, as guides, at once, and safeguards in the conduct of our earlier researches, we now enter on the first, and most obscure topic in the scriptural colonization of Arabia*, ... the primitive settlements of the families of Cush.

At this stage, our first concern is, to state the original proofs, which sanction the generally received opinion, that, with the exception of Nimrod, the sons of Cush settled, in the first instance, in Arabia. In this statement, the foremost place is necessarily occupied by the testimony borne on the subject, directly or indirectly,

* "Arabia was among the first nations which felt the effects of civilization; and, although it was here that *the first large societies of men* united themselves for mutual protection, yet, by an anomaly in the history of the world, their government has remained, with but slight additions to its original simple and patriarchal form, from the earliest periods to which historical information reaches until the present moment. The remark applies especially to the southern part of this vast continent: for we learn by the traditions of the country, and the authority of eastern writers, that, shortly after the deluge, a remnant of the few who were saved, by divine mercy, from that awful catastrophe, settled at Al Akas, in the province of Hadramáut. These were said to have been of the tribe of the son of Uz, the son of Shem; and from this stock Arabia is supposed to have been peopled."—Travels in Arabia, by Lieut. J. R. Wellsted, F. R. S., Indian Navy, vol. i. p. 355.

by the sacred writers. It is a matter of fact familiar to the learned reader, and popularly familiarized in a well-known and excellent work, "The Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament," that the names, "Ethiopia," and "Ethiopians," are frequently substituted in our English version of the Old Testament, where the Hebrew original preserves the proper name, "Cush." And that the name of Cush, when so applied in Scripture, belongs uniformly, not to the African, but to the Asiatic Ethiopia, or Arabia, has been inferred incontrovertibly from comparison of a few decisive texts. Thus, in the book of Numbers, we read, that "Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Ethiopian [Heb. Cushite] whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian [Heb. Cushite] woman."* From the second chapter of Exodus†, it is, however, certain, that the wife of Moses (and we have no authority whatever to assume his second marriage) was a Midianitish woman, or a descendant of Abraham by Keturah. And it is equally certain, "that Midian, or Madian, was a city and country in Arabia, on the shore of the Red Sea. So that, from hence, it appears, that the wife of Moses was an Arabian; and, consequently, that the Hebrew word Cushite is not

* Numb. xii. 1. † Exod. ii. 15—21.

rightly rendered Ethiopian, unless it be understood of Ethiopia in Asia, or Arabia; not of Ethiopia in Africa." In support of this natural and just inference, Dr. Wells pertinently adduces a geographical allusion from the prophet Habakkuk, which still more clearly identifies, or associates, Cush with Midian: "I saw the tents of *Cushan* in affliction; the curtains of *the land of Midian* did tremble."* Where Cushan and Midian are used as equivalent terms; or else, as a general, and particular, Midian being, in strictness, only one part of the country of Cush.

Enlarging his inductive reasoning, on the same head, from Scripture, this learned writer presently accumulates passages, from various parts of the Old Testament, to the same effect: as, from Ezekiel, "I will make the land of Egypt desolate, from *the tower of Syene*, even unto *the border of Cush:*" a text manifestly indicating the opposite extremities of Egypt; and, Syene being its boundary on the south, or towards the African Ethiopia, it follows that Cush, the opposite boundary, cannot mean Ethiopia commonly so called, but appropriately designates Arabia, which bounds the land of Egypt on the side most remote from the Libyan Ethiopia, or on the north. Similar conclusions are drawn,

* Hab. iii. 7.

with equal justness, from passages in the second books of Kings and Chronicles: in the former history*, from the march of Tirhakah, king of Cush, against Sennacherib, king of Assyria, then engaged in the siege of Libnah, a city of Palestine; in the latter†, from the expedition of Zerah, the Cushite, against Asa, king of Judah. Both which passages show, by the internal evidence, Arabia, not Ethiopia, to be designed by the name of Cush; since the kings and armies of the African Ethiopia could reach Judea, only after a long, hazardous, and probably hostile march, through the powerful interposing kingdom of Egypt, ... an expedition obviously feasible to great conquerors only; whereas the kings, and warlike tribes, of Arabia lay immediately on its borders, or possessed ready access to Palestine; and were ready and at hand, consequently, for every occasion, whether of friendly succour, or of hostile inroad. "What has been offered," concludes Dr. Wells, with reference to his summary of the evidences here abridged, "does, I think, sufficiently evince, that the nation of Cush did first settle in Arabia; and the word is, generally, to be so understood in Scripture." ‡

* 2 Kings, xix. 9. † 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

‡ See Geogr. of O. & N. T., vol. i. p. 103—105.

In this conclusion there seems every reason to concur. The proofs, indeed, by which it is sustained, are so clear and convincing, that to amplify them would be as injurious to the judgment of intelligent readers, as it would be unjust to the merits of a preceding writer, had not Dr. Wells, in noticing the invasion of Judea by Zerah, and the internal marks which denote that Cushite prince and his followers to have been a king and people of Arabia, inadvertently overlooked *the* passage of the sacred narrative, which converts probability into demonstration; and which might suffice, taken alone, to identify Arabia with the country known, in Scripture language, as "the land of Cush."

"So the Lord," proceeds the sacred historian, "smote the Cushites before Asa, and before Judah; and the Cushites fled. And Asa, and the people that were with him, pursued them unto *Gerar;* and the Cushites were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves. . . . . And they smote *all the cities round about Gerar;* . . . and they spoiled all the cities, for there was exceeding much spoil in them. They smote, also, *the tents of cattle*, and carried away *sheep* and *camels* in abundance; and returned to Jerusalem." *

* 2 Chron. xiv. 12—15.

The conclusive nature of the proof supplied by this passage may be stated in a few words. *Gerar* lay on the border of the Amalekites and Ishmaelites, between the kingdom of Judah, and the wildernesses of Shur and Paran. Thither Zerah, and the relics of his host, fled from the field of battle; and the invasion of the country, and capture of the surrounding cities, by the victorious Asa, prove that they fled into their own land. "The tents of cattle," and the abundant spoil of "sheep and camels," further show that land to be the adjoining region of Arabia; a country characterized in Scripture by these products, ... "the rams of Nebaioth," "the flocks of Kedar," "the dromedaries of Midian and Efa," ... and to which alone the description of the spoil taken can, with the slightest verisimilitude, be applied. Arabia, it follows, is "the land of Cush."

The Cushite tribes being the first settlers, the whole country was open to them, to choose, at will, their places of abode. Colonization would naturally commence in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, from which the descendants of Noah originally emigrated; or in the parts of Arabia adjoining the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf. But emigration once commenced, the first colonists, in the progress of uninterrupted, be-

cause unopposed, settlement, would not less naturally select, as they advanced into the peninsula, the most fertile districts, or the most commodious sites: principles of choice, it may safely be affirmed, common to all new settlers, in all countries and ages of the world. This point taken for granted, the physical character of Arabia, which must have always suggested, or rather compelled an appropriate choice of situations, becomes, with no low degree of probability, our guide, in tracing, antecedently to proof, the course of colonization likely to be followed by the sons of Cush, and their more immediate descendants. For all descriptions, whether ancient or modern, of the Arabian peninsula, agree in representing the country as a vast wilderness, encircled by a belt of fruitful mountain districts*: its mountain belt, again,

* With the fertility of the Djebal, or mountains of Yemen, we are familiar: that of the mountain belts of Hadramáut and Omân, until very recently, rested on the accounts of native authorities. From the reports of Messrs. Haines, Wellsted, &c., however, we learn, that, while the southern coast presents a nearly uniform face of barrenness and desolation, the country immediately behind it is fruitful in the highest degree. Mr. Wellsted's visits to Nakab el Hajar, in Hadramáut, and to the Djebal el Akhdar, or "green mountains" in Omân, in particular, contain the most glowing pictures of fertility and cultivation. The description of the country about Minnà, in the latter province, may be given as a specimen. "Minnà differs from the other towns, in having its cultivation in the open fields. As we crossed these, with lofty almond, citron, and orange trees, yielding a delicious fragrance on either hand, exclamations of astonishment and admiration burst from us. Is this Arabia? we said:

being enclosed, on three sides, by a still vaster circuit of coast, facing, in as many directions, rich, wide, and accessible, fields of commerce.

Now a country thus circumstanced, must physically direct and regulate the path of primitive colonization. With the first colonists, the mountains, and the coasts, would be the earliest objects: the mountains, for cultivation; the coasts, for commercial enterprise; and thus, for fixed inhabitation in particular, these great natural landmarks, and road-measures, amidst a land of deserts, would prove guides as sure, as the finger-posts, and mile-stones, of English civilization. If, therefore, we can discover the names of the primitive Cushite families disposed over the peninsula, conformably with these antecedent probabilities, we obtain strong presumptive evidence, that the names, thus distributed, really belong to that aboriginal people.*

this the country we have looked on, heretofore, as a desert? Verdant fields of grain and sugar-cane, stretching along for miles, are before us; streams of water flowing in all directions, intersect our path; and the happy and contented appearance of the peasants, agreeably helps to fill up the smiling picture. The atmosphere was delightfully clear and pure; and, as we trotted joyously along, giving or returning the salutation of peace or welcome, I could almost fancy we had at last reached that 'Araby the blest,' which I have been accustomed to regard as existing only in the fictions of our poets."— Trav. in Arab., vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

* Such evidence is supplied, in one quarter, by the following passage of Niebuhr; who (in strict agreement with the principles of primitive colonization above laid down) found large traces of Cushite settlement, in

But here a somewhat startling objection meets inquiry on the threshold: for, while the great majority of authorities are of one opinion, as to

the Cushite names of towns and districts, along the coasts, and in the fertile mountains, of Yemen. "Moïse appella les enfans de Khus: *Seba*, *Hévila*, *Sabtan*, *Raïma*, et *Sabtecha*. Si par des noms analogues modernes, on veut déterminer en Arabie la demeure des *Khusites*, on trouvera, qu'ils ont possédé toute la côte de la province d'*Yemen*, depuis *Hali* jusques à *Zebid*. 1.) *Beni Khusi* est, jusques à ce jour, le nom d'un petit district dans la province, ou le département de *Rema* (p. 216.), comme *Beit el Khusi* est le nom d'un village en *Hasched u Bekil* (p. 228.). La nom de la ville de *Kúsma* (p. 214.) ressemble beaucoup à celui de *Khus*. 2.) Le village de *Sabea* dans le département de *Loheia* (p. 200.), ou plutôt *Sabbea*, petite ville dans le domaine d'*Abuárisch* (p. 233.), peut avoir eu son nom de *Seba*; car *Sabbea*, étant plus près des montagnes, peut avoir été habitée, pendant que *Loheia* étoit encore sous l'eau. 3.) *Khaulân*, petite province à l'Ouest de *Sáade* (p. 234.), ressemble beaucoup à *Hévila*. Il est à noter, qu'on trouve encore aujourd'hui deux petites domaines indépendans du même nom, mais en divers endroits de l'*Yemen*; et que Moïse en parle en deux endroits différens. 4.) Je ne connois rien qui réponde à *Sabtah*, à moins que ce ne soit *Saucan* (p. 233.). Mr. *Busching* observe très-bien, que *Sept* (p. 215.) à beaucoup de rapport avec *Sabtah*. Mais je ne sais pas, si l'endroit est ancien, ou si ce nom vient de ce qu'on y tient une foir tous les samedis. Car par cette raison l'on donne à bien des villages dans l'*Yemen*, le nom des jours de la semaine. 5.) De *Raëma* est peut-être venu رِيمَة (p. 216.), où il croit beaucoup de caffé; l'on y cultivoit peut-être beaucoup d'épiceries, ou les marchands les transportoient d'ici à *Tyr*. (Ezéch. xxvii. 22.) Il y a près de Sanà le village de *Rema* (p. 209.), mais il est trop près de l'*Usal*, et du *Hévilah*, des *Jahtanites*, pour que ce soit le *Raëma* des *Khusites*. *Jerim* ressemble aussi un peu à *Raëma*. *Moïse* appelle les enfans de *Raëma*: *Sheba* et *Dedan*. Je crois avoir retrouvé le premier de ces noms, dans celui de *Schibâm*, ville du gouvernement du *Kaukeban* (p. 224.), ville, par conséquent, située alors entre les royaumes des *Jaktanites* et des *Khusites*. Celle *d'Aden*, assez connu (p. 221.), ne peut pas trop bien être *Dedan*; car s'il y avoit quelque ressemblance entre ces deux noms, les savans l'auroient déjà remarqué; aux oreilles de ceux qui n'entendent pas l'Hebreu, *Aden* a un peu le son de *Dedan*, et de *Dan* dont parle Ezéch. xxvii. 15. 19." — Description de l'Arabie, pp. 253, 254.

Arabia having been settled originally by the sons of Cush, an authority of high name, that of Mr. Sale, may be adduced, as questioning the fact that the Cushites ever colonized Arabia, properly so called. The following are Mr. Sale's words: "Besides the tribes of Arabs, mentioned by their own authors, who were all descended from the race of Sem, others of them were the posterity of Ham, by his son Cush; which name is, in Scripture, constantly given to the Arabs, and their country. But, strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf; whither they came from Chuzestan, or Susiana, the original settlement of their father. They might, probably, mix themselves, in process of time, with the Arabs of the other race: but the eastern writers take little, or no, notice of them." *

In the last of his conjectures, M. Niebuhr has been misled into over-refinement, by looking to recover *all* the Cushite stocks, in this particular quarter of Arabia. *Aden* is *Eden*, the emporium of the *Happy* Arabia. The true name and site of *Dedan* are recovered, in the *Dedanim* of Isaiah (xxi. 13.), and in *Dedan*, now *Dadena*, outside the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

* But the highest authority, that of Scripture history, does. While Mr. Sale is amusing his readers with the silence of the eastern writers, the following decisive passage proves, that Bedouin tribes of the stock of Ham, and consequently of Cush, who gave name to the peninsula, anciently occupied the district of Gedor [Djedour], part of the Hauran, on the *opposite* side of Arabia from the Euphrates and Persian Gulf; whence

If this statement be borne out by facts, it will bring the subject of the present section within brief compass. But, with all becoming deference to the authority of the learned translator of the Koran, it must be confessed, that he has here fallen into the errour (too common in the learned world) of stating a conclusion, without reference to the evidences by which it may be supported, or opposed; and (a remark which will apply to too many succeeding orientalists) that he puts an indiscriminating, and, therefore, an undue value, on the historical authority of the eastern writers.*

they were expelled, in the reign of Hezekiah, by the Simeonites. "And they [Ziza, and the Simeonites his brethren] went to the entrance of Gedor, unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and peaceable; *for they of Ham had dwelt there of old.* And these written by name came, in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents, and the habitations that were found there, and destroyed them utterly unto this day, and dwelt in their rooms; because there was pasture there for their flocks." 1 Chron. iv. 39. 41. The memory of this race is preserved to the present day, in the village of *Ham* (حام), noticed by Burckhardt, in this very neighbourhood; as that of the Cushite tribes, more generally, seems perpetuated, across the neck of the peninsula, by the desert of *Hamad*, the town of *Hamdiè*, &c.

* The orientals, however, are *not* silent about Cush, as a people of Arabia. Thus, Novaïri mentions the *Cushites* in conjunction with the *Temimites*, as the portion of his kingdom bequeathed by Al Hareth to his second son Sherhabil:

وملك شرحبيل على قيس وتميم

— Novaïri, ap. Schultens. Imper. Joctanidarum, p. 76.

Of the orientals in general, and of the oriental writers in particular, it may be justly observed, that they are, commonly, as loose and inaccurate in preserving the details of history, as they are faithful in transmitting, from age to age, the voice of tradition. Tradition is, in truth, their history: the magazine from which their chief historical materials are drawn. Now it is the ascertained, and acknowledged characteristic of all ancient tradition, that it preserves the substance, but alters and confounds the circumstances, of historical truth. This character eminently belongs to the traditional history of Arabia, both in its merits, and in its defects. And, from actual experience, the present writer can pronounce confidently of the Arab historians, that they are trustworthy, commonly, while they deal in generals, but seldom to be relied on, when they descend to details. Of the correctness of this distinction, the following pages will afford ample illustration.

The distinction here indicated, should teach the true use to be made, by European historians, of the oriental writers: whose unsupported testimony may be of doubtful value; but whose concurrence with higher, and wholly independent authorities, stamps the facts in which they agree with the sterling mark of authenticity. To

these authorities, our appeal now lies from Mr. Sale's hasty judgment, respecting the limits of the primeval settlements of Cush. If the classics threw not, on these settlements, their independent lights, however impossible to controvert, it might be impracticable fully to clear and confirm, the brief, and incidental notices of Scripture. But, if the Scriptures, the classics, and the modern geography of the country, concur in preserving the names of the primitive Cushite tribes, not only on the banks of the Euphrates, or along the coast of the Persian Gulf, but over nearly the entire circuit of the peninsula, then we may well consider the question as determined; and learn duly to estimate the historical accuracy with which the sacred penmen apply to Arabia, at large, the significant title of "the land of Cush."

The harmonious concurrence of these several authorities we will now proceed to establish. Were the geographical order to be observed, the investigation would commence at the head of the Persian Gulf, and conduct the inquirer round the peninsula to the head of the Arabian: throughout which vast circuit, the certain traces of a Cushite colonization appear, in the ancient and modern names of various towns, and tribes, and districts, corresponding with the names of

the sons, and grandsons of Cush. But, as inquiry properly begins with the earliest, that is to say, with the scriptural marks of this first settlement of the country, and as some of the Cushite families spread more widely than others, dispersing their colonies to opposite quarters of the land*, it seems preferable to adopt the scriptural, or genealogical, order.

SEBA. It is the commonly received opinion that Seba, the eldest of the sons of Cush, first colonized that part of Arabia Deserta, which lies adjacent to the Euphrates: a belief apparently, and not unreasonably, founded on the following circumstances; the near neighbourhood of the district in question to Chuzestân, or the proper country of Cush, whence the children of that patriarch are understood to have originally emigrated; the existence, in after times, of the city of Sabe, and the people of the Sabeans, on the borders of Chaldea, and within the above named

*. In tracing the settlements, ancient and modern, of the various Arab tribes, their erratic habits must never be lost sight of: many of them have been, in all ages, entirely roving Bedouins; and even the most settled portions of the population have their proportion of Bedouins. Without constant attention to this fact (which has been too frequently overlooked by d'Anville and others) the descriptions of the classic geographers, especially, must be misunderstood, and often appear contradictory: while, if this characteristic of the country be kept in view, the classical accounts will be found to harmonize, almost uniformly, both with each other, and with our modern accounts of the peninsula.

district; the occurrence, in continuous series, along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the Cushite names, and families, of Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Dedan, the younger sons, and a grandson, of Cush, disposed, in the order of seniority, below the presumed seats of his first-born, Seba; and, lastly, the mention, in two places of the prophet Isaiah, of Cush and Seba together, as though Seba lay adjacent to Chuzestân.

The opinion grounded on these circumstances, as to the primitive seat of Seba, is both natural and probable; but still may prove insufficient to authorize any positive conclusion. For the Cushite tribes, not only of the Euphrates, but of Havilah, also, or the province of Bahrein, appear, subsequently, to have dwelt intermingled with the numerous Abrahamic tribes, which peopled the Desert Arabia, from the borders of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates, and from the coast of Hedjâz to the opposite shores of Bahrein; which, with this change of masters changing its primitive denomination, instead of *Havilah*, received, and retains at the present day, the Ishmaelite name of *Hagar*. And the Sabeans noticed in the Book of Job, who have every appearance of being the same race with the above-mentioned Sabeans of the Euphrates, are there

designated unequivocally, by the mode of spelling their patronymic*, as descendants, not of Seba, the first-born of Cush, but of one or other of the three Shebas, whom Moses numbers among the patriarchs who successively colonized Arabia. However probable, therefore, the inference, that Seba, conformably with the rights of primogeniture (the patriarchal settlements, as will hereafter be more fully seen, very generally followed the order of seniority) first seated himself in the parts of Arabia immediately adjoining Chuzestân, the land of his father, we are left without proofs to warrant a positive conclusion.

Since, however, the descendants of Seba, are, more than once, specified in the Old Testament, as among the most conspicuous and illustrious nations of the Arabian peninsula; and since, moreover, they are there characterized by certain distinctive physical marks; we are, in an inquiry like the present, invited, at once, and justified to attempt the recovery of this primeval people, and to ascertain where in Arabia the scriptural kingdom of Seba more properly lay.

Among the great land-marks of national descent, none, it may safely be affirmed, are surer, or more permanent, than those physical varieties of form, countenance, and colour, which dis-

* Viz. not with *Samech*, but with *Schin*: ויתפל שבא. (Job, i. 15.)

tinguish from each other the various races of mankind. Even in the mixed and fluctuating population of modern Europe, not only is the diversity of race abundantly perceptible; but we are able to estimate, with considerable accuracy, the proportions in which different stocks are blended (as in the British islands for example) upon any given soil. To the inhabitants of Asia, where manners are invariable, habits unchangeable, and the intermixture of races comparatively rare, the test in question applies with greatly augmented force. But, in Arabia, one of the earliest seats of postdiluvian colonization; a country rarely violated, and never occupied, by a foreign conqueror; and peopled, in all ages, by the same primitive tribes,... peculiarity of form and feature may justly be received, in any specific and authentic example, as evidence of identity of origin little, if at all, short of demonstration. This principle we are enabled by Scripture to apply, as an index to the Arab tribes descended from Cush, and especially to the posterity of his first-born Seba.

Arabia, it has been already stated, is repeatedly denominated, by the sacred writers of the Old Testament, "Cushan," or "the land of Cush." A passage in the book of Jeremiah further instructs us, that its Cushite population, or rather,

perhaps, the whole Cushite race, Asiatic and African, was distinguished from the other patriarchal families, by a peculiarity of colour: "Can the *Cushite* change his skin? or the leopard his spots?"* But, besides this national mark, or brand, attaching, judicially perhaps, to this branch of the family of the accursed Ham, the race of Seba, in particular, is described, in the prophecy of Isaiah, as distinguishable from their kindred tribes, and conspicuous among the surrounding nations, by the procerity of their stature: "Thus saith the Lord, the labour of Egypt, and merchandize of Cush, and the Sabeans, *men of stature*, shall come over unto thee; and they shall be thine: they shall come after thee, in chains they shall come over, [the triumph, evidently, being heightened, by the gigantic forms of the captives,] and they shall fall down unto thee."† The Hebrew name here rendered, by

* Jer. xiii. 23. This indelible characteristic of race would seem to identify with the families of Cush, the inhabitants of the southern coast. Although overrun, and partially mingled with, by the Joktanite Sabeans and Homerites, . . . from the existing marks of race, the primitive Cushite population would still seem to predominate along this coast. "The inhabitants of Makullah, and the other towns of southern Arabia (observes Mr. Wellsted), have few characteristics in common with those of Omàn, and the shores of the Red Sea. They are lean, *very swarthy*, and usually below the middle size." (ii. 430.) While apparently of Cushite origin, from its colour, this race is evidently distinct from the "Sebaim," since these were "men of stature." They are probably descendants of Ramah, or of the same stock with the people of Mahrah.

† Isaiah, xlv. 14.

our translators, "Sabeans," and more correctly, in the Septuagint version, "Sebaim," literally denotes, it will be observed, the descendants of Seba, as contradistinguished from the three Sabean stocks, descendants of the three Shebas of the Mosaic history.

Now, since the Cushites, generally, were distinguished by the darkness of their skin, and the Sebaim, particularly, were noted for the procerity of their stature, if we find, in Arabia or its vicinity, a race uniting both distinctive marks, the probability certainly is not a low one, that, in that race, we recover a portion of the family of Seba. Not to refer, in this connection, to the African Cushites, or Ethiopians properly so called, a people described by the Greeks in terms accurately corresponding with the scriptural delineation of the stock of Seba, the following statement of Burckhardt will introduce the reader to a Bedouin tribe, uniting both characteristics of that patriarchal people, and inhabiting the central deserts of Yemen and Nedjd at the present day: "South-east of Beishe four or five days, live the Dowáser Arabs during the winter, but in summer they remove to the more fertile pasture-lands of Nedjed, the nearest frontiers of which are only eight days distant. They have no houses, but furnish to the Wahabys, in their

wars, about three thousand camel-riders. . . . The Dowáser are said to be *very tall men*, and *almost black*." *

The marked distinctness of the Dowáser Arabs from the surrounding tribes, a distinctness in stature and colour to be accounted for only by difference of race, and their perfect agreement, in personal appearance, with the Sebaim of Scripture, is not, it may now be observed, the only remarkable feature of this graphical description. For, on comparison with wholly independent authorities, it will be found no less accurately to correspond with the accounts given us, by Greek writers, of the African Ethiopians: a fact, at once confirmative of the received opinion as to the Arabian origin of this people, and indicative of the connection of the *colour* of the sons of Africa, with their descent from this branch of the family of Ham. The case of the Dowáser Arabs is plainly inexplicable on ordinary grounds; since, in this case, change of climate cannot be adduced, to account for an assumed change of colour.

But this striking difference, in height and colour, from the surrounding tribes, is not confined to the Dowáser Arabs. The phenomenon reappears among the Arabs of the Persian Gulf,

* Travels in Arabia, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 385.

and in the very neighbourhood assigned by the learned for the settlements of Seba. "The Arabs of the Persian Gulf," observed Colonel Chesney to the author, "are a fine race of men, remarkable for *lofty stature*, and *dark complexion:* in both respects, differing markedly from the tribes on the Arabian Gulf."* The probable connection of these Arabs with the Dowáser, and of both with the Seba and Sebaim of Scripture, receives curious illustration, in conclusion, from a coincidence incidentally supplied by M. Niebuhr; who notices to the west of the Shat al Arab (the very country allocated to Seba) the name of the Nedjd Bedouins, in that of the district of *Dauasir.*†

But the information derivable from the Old Testament, respecting the family of Seba, is not limited to the physical characteristics of that Cushite race. The sacred penmen speak of Seba as a potent kingdom, worthy of a place beside the

* "I observed a considerable difference between the personal appearance of the Arabs of Hejáz, and those bordering on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. The characteristics of the latter are, an almost oval face, black hair, generally close shaven, eyebrows of the same colour, and a glossy skin, one shade lighter than that of the natives of India. Those near the shores of the Red Sea are lean, but of a vigorous make, and more diminutive in stature; the form of the face more lengthened; their cheeks hollow; and their hair, with the exception of two long curls on either side (on which they bestow considerable care), is permitted to flow as low as their waist. The colour of their skin is lighter."—Wellsted, Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 255, 256.

† Description de l'Arabie, tom. iii. p. 276.

powerful Sabean kingdom of Yemen. Thus, in that sublime prediction of the Messiah's reign, the seventy-second Psalm, we read: —

> "The kings of Tarshish, and of the isles, shall bring presents;
> The kings of Sheba, and Seba, shall offer gifts." *

And in an equally sublime passage of Isaiah: —

> "I am the Lord thy God,
> The Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour;
> I gave Egypt for thy ransom,
> Cush, and Seba, for thee." †

It is not sufficient, therefore, that we trace the existence of the Sebaim as an Arab tribe; we are further called upon to verify the scriptural statements, which represent Seba as a prominent state, or kingdom, of Arabia. That this kingdom was neither identical with that of the Sabeans of the Arabian Gulf, nor adjacent to it, will abundantly appear at a more advanced stage of this memoir. For our immediate object, it will suffice to observe, that the place of the seventy-second Psalm just cited, where, to manifest the Messiah's glory, tributary kings are introduced, from distant and opposite quarters of the earth, would seem obviously to imply, that, as Sheba lay on the western side of the peninsula, or in the neighbourhood of the Arabian Gulf, . . . Seba must be sought on its eastern side, or in the

* Psalm lxxii. 10. † Isaiah, xliii. 3.

vicinity of the Persian. To this quarter, accordingly, we shall proceed, in order to ascertain how far this fair and natural inference is sustained by facts.*

Now, for the existence of a powerful tribe, or nation of Sebaim on the eastern coast of Arabia, outside the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we have the concurrent testimony of the ancient geographers, both Greek and Roman. From the joint evidence of Ptolemy, and of the elder Pliny, it can clearly be collected, that this people lay along the coast of Oman, from Cape Mussendom to the vicinity of Ras al Had. The Roman geographer, misled, as will presently appear, by the similarity of sound, seems to confound them, under a com-

* "Jarab was the son of Sooltan, the son of Eber, and brother of Peleg; and from him the ancient Arabians derive their ancestry. The Yaharabi [of Omân], therefore, who claim the nearest approach to the parent stem, trace their genealogy further back than the other tribes in Arabia, and may, undoubtedly, be pronounced the oldest family in the world. *Saba*, the grandson of Sooltan, founded *Saba*; and *the Sabeans are supposed to be identified with the Cushites*, who dwelt upon the shores of the Persian Gulf. This was the position the seceders occupied, at the period of the dispute between Ali and Moawiah for the Caliphate; and it throws a ray of light upon the mist that envelopes the history of this remote period, when we find *some direct evidence* bearing upon a point, which has, heretofore, been a matter of mere conjecture. The name of Arabia, with some show of reason, has also been derived from the Jarib here alluded to."—Wellsted, Travels in Omân, vol. i. p. 8. note.

The confusion usual in national tradition has crept into this note, which confounds the distinct races of Cush and Shem. Its information, however, is so far valuable, as showing the authority of Arab tradition, for the descent of the Sabeans of Omân from Seba the son of Cush.

mon name, with the Sabeans of Yemen. His inaccuracy, however, is corrected by the exacter nomenclature, and more discriminative statements of Ptolemy. In order to establish the proof of their descent from Seba, as contradistinguished from the Shebas of Scripture history, it is essential that we prove the Sabeans or Sebaim of the Persian Gulf a distinct race, both from the Cushite, and from the Joktanite, Sabeans; who will hereafter be shown to have erected flourishing kingdoms, at the opposite side of the peninsula; while the Bedouin tribes of Joktan (the Kahtan of Arabian history) spread quite across the country, from shore to shore; and lay, also, inland, along the western side of the mountain chain, which appears to have formed the barrier, on the west, of the maritime kingdom of Seba.

That the Sabeans, placed by Ptolemy on the Arabian Gulf, north-west of the kingdom of the Homerites, were a Cushite race, descendants, not of Seba, but of Sheba the son of Raamah, will be seen from the joint evidence of the Scriptures and the classics, when we come to adjust the settlements of these patriarchs: and it being the immemorial custom, in Yemen, to denominate the several districts, from the tribes which inhabit them, we recover the site of this people, in the province of *Sabiê;* a district located by

M. d'Anville precisely in the geographical position assigned, by the ancients, to the Sabeans here in question. Now, that this was a distinct stock from the Sabeans, or Sebaim, of Omân, Ptolemy furnishes a short and easy proof: since this eminently accurate geographer not only notices the distinctness of the two nations, in point of situation, but calls them, also, by different names: the people of Sabiê, he names *Sabæi;* but the inhabitants of the coast of Omân, he denominates *Asabi*, or *Sabi* (the *a* prefix, being only the Arabic article incorporated with the name); a diversity of nomenclature not, assuredly, without cause, and which admits of easy explanation, by simple recurrence to the authority of Scripture, and to the distinct names, and kingdoms, of *Sheba*, and *Seba*.*

From Ptolemy, again, we obtain similar, and yet larger proof of the distinctness of the Asabi from the Joktanite Sabeans. This wide-spread people, the Katabeni of the Greeks, and the Beni Kahtan of the present day, occupied, from remotest antiquity, by far the greater part of Arabia Felix. Ptolemy, however, notices, by name, one only of their numerous tribes, the Kottabani, in the vicinity of Omân. And this tribe he not only

* Their distinctness has been well marked by Bochart. — Conf. Géograph. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. xxv.; lib. iv. cap. vii.

discriminates from their neighbours the Sabi, or Asabi, by name, but brings them into direct contrast, as two wholly distinct people: observing, that the Kottabani lie eastward of the Omanitæ*, and extend to the mountains of the Asabi; the chain termed by Pliny, the Eblitæan mountains, ... now the mountains of Lima.

Thus, by the harmonious concurrence of a variety of independent authorities, ... by the testimony of Scripture to the existence of the distinct kingdoms of *Sheba* and *Seba*, on opposite sides of the Arabian peninsula; by the testimony of the Greeks to the existence of two distinct nations, the *Sabæi*, and the *Asabi* or *Sabi*, in the opposite directions indicated in the seventy-second Psalm; and by the decisive marks which serve, in Ptolemy's chart of the country, to contradistinguish the Asabi, both from the Cushite, and from the Joktanite, Sabeans, ... we seem fully authorized in the conclusion, that the Seba or Sebaim, of the Old Testament, and the Sabi or Asabi of the Alexandrine geographer, denote one and the same people. †

* Ομανίται· ὧν ἀνατολικώτεροι Κατταβῆνοι, μέχρι τῶν Ἀσαβῶν ὀρῶν. Geograph. lib. vi. p. 154.

† The commercial greatness of Seba is satisfactorily explained, by the possession of the *Littus Hammæum*, or Gold Coast, and of the port of Muscat, which, from the infancy of navigation, must have attracted and commanded the commerce of India.

Before we pass on to the younger sons of Cush, there remains to be noticed one more circumstance of evidence, corroborative of the site of Seba, which, in proportion as we are conversant with the high historical value of local names in Arabia, cannot fail to strengthen the proofs already advanced in verification of that site. For, from both the ancient, and the modern denominations, it is manifest, that the district assigned by Ptolemy to the Asabi, or the tract of country between Cape Mussendom, and the mountains of Sciorm*, was originally the seat of Cushite colonies; and that this people lay in the midst of other settlements of Cush. Near Cape Mussendom, styled by Ptolemy "the promontory of the Asabi," we observe, in Mr. Sale's map, the town of *Cûscan*, a name equivalent to the *Cushan* of the Old Testament: on the iron-bound coast of Omân, between the rivers *Amnon*, *Ammon*, or *Omân*, and Thamar (or the towns of Sib and Sohar), we find a tract of strand, called, by Pliny, "the shore of *Ham*" (now Maham)†: on opposite sides of the neck of land terminating in Cape Mussendom, occur,

* The Libanotophorus of Ptolemy.

† N. of Maham, in lat. 25° 10′, we find the scriptural name in Mr. Wellsted's map of Omân; where is marked a valley, running E. and W. across the narrow peninsula, named Wady Ham.

within the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the city and district of *Raamah* (the *Regma* of the Septuagint and the *Regama* of Ptolemy); without the Gulf, the city and district of *Daden* or *Dadena*, ... the *Dedan* of Scripture, Raamah's younger son: while the chain bisecting this peninsula, is termed, by Pliny, the *Eblitæan* mountains, and the peninsula itself bears, at this day, the name of *Aval*, ... both denominations being, as will appear when we come to the settlements of that patriarch, only varying forms of the name of *Havilah*, the second of the sons of Cush. Lastly, the name of *Ham*, the father of the whole race, is inscribed on the face of this entire region, in that of *Omân;* as is demonstrable from the identity of Pliny's *Amnon* or *Ammon* flumen with the river *Omân*, which falls into the sea at his Littus *Hammæum**, or the shore of Maham. The etymological identification, in this case, of Ammon with Omân, and of both names with Ham, is placed, it will elsewhere be seen, beyond all liability to question, by the physical character of the localities to which they belong.

HAVILAH. In the Book of Genesis, mention is made of two patriarchs bearing the name of Havilah; the first, this son of Cush, the other,

* These changes of nomenclature show the correctness of the received opinion, which holds the Jupiter *Ammon* of the Greeks to be the same with the *Ham* of the Old Testament.

a son of Joktan. Arabia being the common country of both the stocks descending from them, it must be our first object to draw the line of demarcation between those distinct races, and to state the grounds on which their respective settlements are assigned to them in the present memoir.

It has been clearly proved from the Old Testament, that by "the land of Havilah," described in the first Book of Moses, is intended the tract of Arabia adjoining the mouths of the Euphrates, and stretching southward along the coast of the Persian Gulf. It is, further, the received opinion, that this country, the modern province of Hagar or Bahrein, derived its scriptural name, and primitive colonization, from the Cushite Havilah.

As, however, besides this more celebrated region, there occur several other districts, equally preserving the patriarchal name of Havilah, in different quarters of the peninsula, the rule naturally suggests itself, to consider those districts so named, which occur in the midst of Cushite settlements, as colonies from Havilah the son of Cush; and those, on the other hand, which occur in the heart of the Joktanite settlements, as colonies of Havilah the son of Joktan. With the single exception of the small district of Chaulan

or Haulan * (the Chaalla of Strabo), lying in the twentieth degree of latitude, due west of Nedjran, . . . a neighbourhood where the Cushites and Joktanites lay much intermingled, . . . by following this simple rule of verification, we are at once authorized to refer to Havilah the son of Cush, such traces of this name as are still preserved in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, and to the Joktanite Havilah, the several districts bearing his name, in the Joktanite province of Yemen.

The land of Havilah mentioned in Genesis, and there described as encompassed, or enclosed rather, by the river Pison, has been assigned, by consent of the learned, as the first and chief settlement of the son of Cush, and identified with the province, on the Persian Gulf, now denominated Hagar, or Bahrein: a district anciently watered, as we gather from the concurrent testimonies of Pliny, and the Portuguese traveller Texeira, by a branch of the Euphrates, which, diverging from the course of its other channels, ran southward parallel with the Gulf, and fell into it nearly opposite the Bahrein islands. A

* "Le Domaine de Khaulân. — Suivant le Scherif Eddris, ce *Khaulân* est à quatre journées de *Hali*, et à moitié chemin entre *Sanâ* et *Mekke*. . . . Ce district est remarkable à cause de Genèse, x. 7. et xxv. 18.; car il paroit que le *Hévila* des *Khusites* et les bornes méridionales des *Ismaëlites* ont été ici." — Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, tom. iii. pp. 234, 235.

direct proof, unnoticed by preceding writers, that this region once bore the name of Havilah, is furnished by the fact, that the principal of the Bahrein islands retains to this day the original name in that of *Aval*.

From this still existing vestige, we may ascend, with advantage and confidence, to examine more ancient traces of the name of Havilah, or Chavilah, in this quarter of Arabia. "In these parts," observes Dr. Wells, following Bochart and other authorities, "by Eratosthenes, are placed the Chaulothæi; by Festus Avienus, the Chaulosii; by Dionysius Periegetes, the Chablasii; and by Pliny, the [Chauelei or] Chavelæi; all retaining, in their name, most of the radical letters of the word Chavilah." The presumption hence inferred seems not an unfair one; but its grounds are much too loosely and vaguely stated by Wells. For, in questions of this nature, no points should be left to rest on mere general presumption, which are capable of more definite proof. It shall be my object, therefore, to establish, in corroboration of the labours of my learned predecessors, 1. that the Arabic name, assumed to correspond with that of Havilah, is, in point of fact, susceptible of modifications similar to those conceived to be its representatives in the classic geographers; 2. that clear

examples of this patriarchal name, under its several idiomatic changes, may be traced, from the head of the Persian Gulf to its mouth, both in Ptolemy and Pliny, and in the modern geography of the country; and 3. that the great tribe, or people, intended under the foregoing denominations, formed in the time of those geographers, and continue to compose at the present day, a chief part of the population of the Havilah of Scripture, the modern province of Hagar, or Bahrein.

1. In order to illustrate the ancient, from the modern variations of the proper name Havilah, we must begin by removing the disguise thrown over it, in our English version of the Bible, by its being there spelled according to the Rabbinical pronunciation. The Hebrew word, written *Havilah*, by adoption of the points, without points, would read *Huile*, or *Hauile:* a circumstance which, once noticed, will at once show general readers the identity of the scriptural name, with the name as it occurs in the Greek and Latin geographers, and in the modern geography of the country. Thus when, in Ptolemy, we read *Huaela*, or *Huaila*, and, in Niebuhr, *Huala*, or, more correctly, *Hauilah*, we have before us, *literally*, the Havilah of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the Nabathean dialect,

which invariably drops the aspirate, the name becomes softened into *Aval*, or *Aûal;* its prevailing enunciation in the districts bordering on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

The following specimens will exemplify the various inflections of this name, in the modern Arabic: *Aval* or *Aûal*, *Huale* or *Hauilah*, *Khau*, *Khalt*, *Haulan*, *Chaul*, *Chaulan* *; some of these words being varying names of the same place or district. So great a variety of pronunciation, in the Arabic of the present day, it will readily be perceived, and must in candour be acknowledged, more than justifies the sagacious inferences of Bochart, respecting the identity, with the Havilah of Scripture, of the several corresponding modifications of the name already noticed in the classic geographers. In one happy instance, indeed, the etymological skill and judgment of this illustrious scholar may be evinced by proof equivalent to demonstration. The Chablasii (or Chablatæi), mentioned by Dionysius, the author of the Periegesis, is one of four names adduced from the classics, as corresponding with and representing the Hebrew proper name Havilah.† This people

* "Le domaine de خولان *Khaulan*. C'est peut-être le *Hévila* dont parle Moïse, Gen. x. 29." — Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, tom. iii. p. 243.

† The LXX version of the name, εὐϊλάτ, is the nearest approximation to its Arabic form *Huailah*.

is described as seated in Arabia Deserta, between the Nabatheans and the Agræi, or Hagarenes, from both which Ishmaelite nations it is explicitly contradistinguished. Now, on reference to Pliny, we find the same name, Eblitæi, or Chablitæi, recurring as the denomination of the chain of mountains, which terminates in Cape Mussendom, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf; and if the reader will only turn to the atlas of M. d'Anville, he will there see, that the Eblitæan * mountains were so denominated from the district in which they are situated, and which bears, at the present day, the name of Aûal.† But the names Chaulosii, and Chaulothæi, the other clas-

* Traces of this form of the name *Havilah* still exist in Omân. Thus, Mr. Wellsted notices on the road to Bireïmah, in lat. 24° 30′, "a collection of thirty hamlets, called Beldan Beni *Chab*, from the name of the tribe who occupy them."—Travels in Arabia, vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

† The distinctness of the Cushite race inhabiting Aûal is preserved to this day, by the sure marks of physiognomy and language. "The whole of this district [between Dhoba and Ras Mussendom] is peopled by a race, who speak a dialect differing from that of the tribes in other parts of Omân..... Those I met with *were of a darker hue than the common race of Arabs.*"— Ib. pp. 240. 242.

M. d'Anville is charged by Niebuhr (Descript. de l'Arabie, tom. iii. pp. 284, 285. note **) with mistaking the sense of Abulfeda, when he gives to the peninsula of Sor the name of Aûal, which M. Niebuhr conceives to belong exclusively to the largest of the Bahrein islands. The mistake, however, is his own. For Abulfeda, in the passage referred to, describes the circuit of the Arabian peninsula, and therefore necessarily confines himself to the main land,—passing from Mahrah to Omân, from Omân to Aûal, and from Aûal to Katiff, Khadema, and Basra. That Aûal was the ancient name of the peninsula ending in Cape Mussendom, is demonstrated by Pliny's *Eblitean* mountains.

sical appellatives of this people, being easy and obvious modifications of Chablasii, or Eblitæi, (the *u* and *b* being interchangeable in many idioms, and *s* always exchanged for *t* in the Chaldean dialect,) it follows, that these four names are, what Bochart and other learned writers have assumed them to be, simply different forms of the Arabic word Aûal, or Hauilah, . . . the Havilah of the Old Testament.

2. The identity of the above national appellatives thus established, it shall be our next step to point out, in the ancient and modern geography of this part of Arabia, the many clear traces of the name of Havilah, under its several forms of inflection, which occur in the reputed country of this Cushite patriarch. The reader will please to accompany me with the map before him, while we pursue this inquiry along the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, ascending, from its mouth, to the Shat al Arab, or mouths of the Euphrates. In the preceding context, the name of Havilah has been recovered, in the neighbourhood of Cape Mussendom, in the Montes Eblitæi of Pliny, or the mountain district of Aûal. It next re-appears, under several marked varieties of spelling, or enunciation, in the vicinity of the islands of Bahrein. The principal of these islands, it has been already re-

marked, retains to this day the name of Aval, the Nabathean pronunciation of Havilah. It must now be added, that the name occurs with the aspirate prefixed, and spelled, letter for letter, conformably with the Hebrew original, in the modern name of the peninsula, (for the first time correctly laid down, in the recent survey by order of the East India Company,) which forms the eastern side of the bay, or inlet, within which lie the Bahrein islands. The Arabic name of this district, or of its chief town, written by Niebuhr *Huale*, is more accurately expressed *Hauilah ;* while the letters which compose it correspond exactly with those of the Hebrew *Havilah.* The Huale of Niebuhr, by d'Anville is spelt *Khau*, and in Arrowsmith's map *Khalt ;* from the latter of which inflections appears to be derived the *Atta* vicus of Ptolemy (the aspirate being suppressed), placed by him on the same neck of land, and immediately opposite the islands. In these, and in all similar varieties of form, the reader is reminded, once for all, of a fact with which orientalists are familiar, namely, that the variation is usually effected, either by idiomatic peculiarities, or by the use of points ; and that it belongs more properly to the pronunciation, than to the spelling of the word. Thus the same name is pronounced, indifferently,

Aûal, or Khaul, according as the initial aspirate is sounded, or mute. By the superscription, again, of two dots, the final *h* (ه) in Arabic, is transformed into *t*; whence the name written *Khaulah*, is pronounced *Khalt:* while, by the law of nunnation, the final letters of all words, over which are placed the points (ـً) sound in pronunciation as though followed by *n*; hence Haul or Khaul, changes into Haulan or Khaulan, one of the most usual forms of Havilah in the modern Arabic. An early proof that the *n*, in this specific instance, was added by nunnation, and passed from the oral to the written language, may be drawn from Strabo, who writes *Chaalla*, for the district of *Chaulan*, on the borders of the Hedjaz towards Yemen.

In the Arabian geography of Ptolemy, the name of Havilah in this last form is plainly recoverable anew, as we ascend the Gulf northward, from the islands of Aval or Bahrein.*

* M. Niebuhr observes on the latter denomination, "Je n'ai pas pu découvrir, pourquoi, chez les étrangers, elles portent le nom de *Bahhreja*, qui signifie deux mers." (Descript. de l'Arabie, tom. iii. p. 284.) The explanation seems obvious: the mainland opposite is so named; and the islands, after it. Captain Sadleir remarks, that the main is called, by the Arabs, *Bahran*, and the islands *Bahrein*. Niebuhr, therefore, is mistaken in attributing the name to strangers. He has also missed its sense, which here is figurative: the Arabs often compare the *desert* to the *ocean*; the sands of the desert of Bahran, Captain Sadleir notices, singularly resemble the billows of the ocean; *Bahrein*, consequently, may stand for the *two deserts*; or the province lying between the two deserts of Al Dahna, and

The abridgement of proper names, so common in all the oriental dialects, by the suppression of their initial, or of their final syllable, has been noticed and exemplified in the Introduction to this Memoir. By attention to this ascertained usage, we are enabled, in the direction in which we are now about to proceed, to restore the original name of Havilah in a very remarkable manner. For, immediately north of his Chersonesus Akra (Ras al Char) is placed by this geographer the Sinus Leanites; which, supposing the initial syllable dropt, is the exact contraction for Sinus *Khau*lanites, or bay of *Khau*lan; while the suppressed initial presents itself in the adjoining tribe of Abu Kaii, a contraction just exemplified in the instance of Khau for Havilah. The names united give the Arabic form of the

Al Ahkaf. The comparison of the desert with the ocean receives striking illustration, from the following passage of the unpublished Journal of Captain Sadleir's expedition across the peninsula, from Katiff to Yembo, in 1820.—"July 24. One part of the arrangement of our march appeared to me very judicious, and forcibly brought to recollection the justness of the simile, which the Arabs so frequently introduce, *in comparing the desert to the ocean*, and in considering the camel as *the ship of the desert*. An advanced guard, accompanied by the guides, moved on in front, under the command of an officer of cavalry; and a large lantern, elevated by a pole, affixed to a saddle of a camel, appeared like a top-light of a commodore's ship, to which the column was expected to pay attention. During the night several pistols were discharged from front to rear, to show the position of the different groups, and to prevent them becoming too widely extended."—(MS. Journal.)

scriptural name in full, Sinus Kaulanites, or the bay of Khaulan.

The last recurrence of this proper name which shall be adduced from Ptolemy, conducts us to the head of the Persian Gulf, and to the commencement of "the land of Havilah" spoken of in the Old Testament. In this celebrated region, adjoining the bay of Koueit or Grane Harb, in latitude 29° 30″, the Alexandrine geographer locates the city of *Kalathua*, and Pliny, the promontory of *Chaldone:* the former name landing us among the Kaulothei of Eratosthenes, a people already identified, locally and etymologically, with the Havilah and Havileans of Scripture; the latter denomination serving as a link to unite the name of the Kaulothei with that of the great Arab tribe, now inhabiting this very region. For Kalathua is not more obviously the city of the Kaulothei, than Chaldone is the promontory of the Beni Khaled: places and people, in ancient and modern Arabia, which, equally and conjointly, preserve, in these parts, the name and memory of the Cushite Havilah. Commencing, accordingly, with these localities, and with the identification of their ancient with their present inhabitants, we will return down the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, and trace the name of Havilah, under its several varieties of form,

among the tribes by which this line of country was anciently peopled, and by whom it is peopled at this day.

3. A more clear, direct, and conclusive restoration, than that with which it is here in our power to set out, will not easily be found in the history of the connection between ancient and modern names. The Chaulothei of Eratosthenes, whom we have seen rightly identified by the learned with the Cushite Havilah, are unquestionably the same people with the Beni Khaled, or Halid; a people described, by Niebuhr and Burckhardt, as one of the most powerful and wide-spread tribes of modern Arabia*; whose chief settlement, at the present day, is to be seen in M. Niebuhr's map of the Persian Gulf, occupying the very site of the ancient Kalathua; and from whom the promontory of Chaldone, placed by Pliny on the coast adjoining, self-evidently derived its name. From this locality, apparently their primitive seat, the wide-spreading branches of the Kaulothei, or Beni Kaled,

* "بني خالد *Beni Khâled* est une des plus puissantes tribus qu'il y ait en Arabie, non seulement parcequ'elle possède beaucoup de chameaux, et règne sur plusieurs autres petites tribus, riches en bétail; mais encore parcequ'elle a conquis les villes et villages du *Lâchsa*, ou du *Hadsjar*. Le Schech régnant ne demeure pas toujours dans des villes, mais la plus grande partie de l'année il habite sous des tentes."—Description de l'Arabie, p. 333.

can be traced, alike in ancient and modern geographers, to Chaldea (on which they would seem to have conferred their name); through the heart of the Desert Arabia; and along the entire western coast of the Persian Gulf, to the promontory of Cape Mussendom at its entrance.

By following into the Syrian desert, and along the Persian Gulf, the existing settlements of this potent tribe, we shall be enabled, both more fully to establish the identity of the Beni Khaled with the Chaulothei, Chaulosii, or Chablasii of the ancients (names correctly assumed, though without any adduction of proofs, to denote one and the same people); and to demonstrate, further, from the connection actually subsisting between the tribe of Khaled, and the districts denominated Khalt, Huale, and Aval, that the name Khaled is only another form of that of Havilah, and this tribe the genuine posterity of the son of Cush.

According to Dionysius and Priscian, the Chablasii or Chaulasii lay adjoining the Nabathei and Agræi, and apparently between these Ishmaelite nations, in the direction of the great northern desert. In this direction, accordingly, towards the Hauran and Damascus, encampments of the Beni Khaled, we learn from Burckhardt, are to be found at this day. The scholiast

on Dionysius, by subjoining that "the Chaulasii inhabit the land of Chaldamis," directs us, however, eastward, to the gulf and district of Kademah, the proper land of Havilah, as the quarter where their strength lay; and in this very quarter, at the present day, we again meet the great tribe of Khaled, the central seat of whose power still lies in these parts. In connection with this fact, the names of *Kuzma*, and Abdul *Keyss*, in this immediate neighbourhood, may be noticed as further indications of Cushite colonization. South of Kademah, towards the Astan river, Ptolemy places the Leaniti, and Pliny the Calingii: both denominations being, apparently, rather idiomatic modifications, than classical corruptions, of the name Haulanites or Chaulanites, the Arabic form for Havilæans; and both, like the Chaulasii of Dionysius, being actually represented by the Beni Khaled, who, now as of old, occupy and rule over the provinces of Bahrein and Lachsa, and who thus still preserve the character ascribed by Pliny to their name, in that of their metropolis Mariaba, which he observes "signifies lords of all." * The fact of

* Notwithstanding its temporary occupation by the Turks, Captain Sadleir found the Beni Khaled tribe still dominant in Lachsa. He was assured, by the nephew of their great Sheikh, "that his tribe could alone afford him the protection he required." They were courted, accordingly, by the Turks; and, "on the departure of the Turkish government, the

the identity of Khaled with Havilah derives fresh confirmation, in the localities now in question, from the names of the districts themselves: the Beni Khaled near the Astan river, along with their other possessions in Lachsa, being the owners and inhabitants of the greatest of the Bahrein islands, and of the peninsula which encloses it on the east; an island and peninsula retaining, we have seen, among the Arabs of Bahrein at the present day, the patriarchal name of *Aval*, or *Havilah*. Attention has been previously called to the idiomatic mutations of this name, in the flexible pronunciation of the Arabs. I shall now only remark, that, in one of these varieties, *Khalt* for *Aval*, we have matter-of-fact precedent for the identification of *Havilah* with *Khaled*.

But the name and settlements of the Cushite Havilah do not terminate in Bahrein. We have the authority of Pliny for extending them to the neighbourhood of Cape Mussendom; where this geographer places the gens *Chaldæi;* a people identified, at once, with the Beni Khaled, by name, and with Havilah, by their position under the Eblitæi montes, in a district still de-

Sheikhs of the Beni Khaled tribe were to resume the government of Al Ahsa, as tributaries to the Pacha." — MS. Journal, p. 202.

nominated (manifestly, like the island of Bahrein, after its inhabitants) *Aval.*

ORIGIN OF THE CHALDEANS.

This identification of the Beni Khaled with the Chaldæi of Pliny shall now serve, in conclusion, to let in light upon a subject, confessedly one of the most curious and obscure in remote antiquity, . . . the origin of the famous nation of the Chaldeans, on the Euphrates. "The question," observes M. Heeren, "what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents." * With the perverse ingenuity of much learning, accordingly, sundry hypotheses have been framed respecting the origin of this once famous people; who, by M. Heeren himself, are brought from the north generally; by Gesenius, from the mountains of Kurdistan; and by Michaelis, from the steppes of Scythia. Had the passage of Isaiah (xxiii. 13.), on which, after all, all our conjectures must be grounded, been taken only, by these learned men, in its plain and natural sense, the supposed difficulties would have vanished, or rather never would have arisen. The words of the prophet

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 147.

are these: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans: this people was not, till the Assyrian founded it *for them that dwell in the wilderness.*" * Used, as it was, with reference to the policy of a conqueror, whose seat of empire was in Mesopotamia, of whom can the general phrase "inhabitants of the wilderness" be more properly or naturally understood, than of the Bedouin tribes inhabiting the adjoining deserts of Arabia? And why seek, hypothetically, for barbarian emigrants from the far-distant north, when we find the most powerful of those Bedouin tribes, dwellers on the very banks of the Euphrates, and the country of Chaldea inscribed with their name? †

* Oriental conquerors have ever been the same. The policy of Nebuchadnezzar may be illustrated from that of Nadir Schah: "Un grand nombre d'Afghans y furent [at Candahar] passés au fil de l'épée; il *transplanta* les autres, les remplaça, suivant sa coutume, par une nouvelle population, *amenée de diverses provinces.*" — Biograph. Univers. tom. xxx. p. 532.

† M. Heeren himself, indeed, (vol. ii. p. 145.) gives a death-blow to his own theory, by the admissions, first, that the Chaldeans spoke the same language as the ancient Babylonians; and, secondly, that "their language renders it probable" [certain?] that the Babylonians "were tribes from the peninsula of Arabia." His assumption that the Chaldeans had dropt their own tongue to adopt that of the Babylonians is perfectly gratuitous. It is contrary, also, to matter-of-fact experience, in after-times, on this very soil: where the barbarian Turks have retained their Scythian dialect, equally unmoved by the beauties, and the convenience, of the Arabic. The true account of the primitive settlement of these regions is finely given by M. Heeren (i. 71, 72.), in a passage which unconsciously dispels his dream about the *northern* origin of the Chaldeans: — "It cannot be doubted, that, at some remote period, antecedent to the commencement of historical records, *one mighty race* possessed these vast

Such are the decisive claims of the Beni Khaled: who now, as of old, inhabit the ancient Chaldea; and whose encampments have been found, by our latest European travellers, on both banks of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Basra. The proofs of fact, here, are strengthened by the moral presumptions. It was the same policy of the Assyrian monarchy, which, at a later period, brought captive Israel to dwell "in the cities of the Medes," that, at an earlier period of its annals, with equal, or greater wisdom, peopled the banks of the Euphrates with the warlike Beni Khaled, and called the country after their name. In these last and loftiest seats of his descendants, we appropriately take leave of the settlements of Havilah, the second son of Cush.

In the Mosaic genealogy of the sons of Cush, the name of Havilah is followed, in the order of seniority, by those of Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha. The settlements of the second of these patriarchs, however, having a necessary connection with those of his sons, who are introduced at the close of the catalogue, a slight departure

plains, varying in character according to the country which they inhabited; in the deserts of Arabia, pursuing a nomad life; in Syria, applying themselves to agriculture, and taking up settled abodes; in Babylonia, erecting the most magnificent cities of ancient times; and in Phœnicia, opening the earliest ports, and constructing fleets which secured to them the commerce of the known world."

from the scriptural order becomes here unavoidable. I shall first, therefore, briefly investigate the traces of his brothers in the peninsula, of whom comparatively few and faint traces appear to have remained; and shall reserve for the closing topic of this section the most widely diffused, if not the most powerful, of the Arab colonies from Cush, the families of Raamah, and of his two sons, Sheba, and Dedan.

Sabtah. On reference to the classical geography of Arabia, the name and settlements of Sabtah are very apparently there preserved, in three several quarters of the peninsula:... 1. In the city of Sabata, (the Zabida of Stephanus, and the modern Zebid or Sebid,) on the Arabian Gulf; one of the most celebrated ports of Yemen. 2. In the Sabatha metropolis of Ptolemy; subsequently more illustriously known as the capital of the kingdom of the Sabeans and Homerites, under the altered name of Mariaba, or Mâreb. 3. In the city of Saphtha, or Sabtah, placed by Ptolemy on, or near, the coast of the Persian Gulf, long. 78° 15′, lat. 26° 20′, in the vicinity of Ras al Char, his Chersonesus Akra, and in the province of Lachsa or El Hassa.

The last-named site is important for the object of the present inquiry, since it enables us to connect, with the mention of a city of Sabtah by

Ptolemy, the independent notice, by Burckhardt, of a corresponding people the Saab, Zab, or El Zab, tribe, reckoned by him among the chief Bedouin tribes of El Hassa; and who, allowing for an easy and familiar contraction of the name, of constant occurrence in the Arabic idiom, seem fairly identified, at once with the Saphtha of the Alexandrine geographer, and with the Sabtah of Genesis. The reader has only to recollect here, how materially the *nominal* coincidences are strengthened by the consideration, that the city of Saphtha, and the tribe of Saab*, are alike situated in the midst of the primitive settlements of Cush.

SABTECHA. Upon the family of this patriarch, which would seem to have merged in the posterity of Cush his father, the conjectures of Bochart and Wells are equally unsatisfactory. The *Sabatica regio* of the ancients, a district ap-

* The name, thus more correctly written, approximates us more nearly to the Sàbtah of Scripture. Burckhardt's spelling of it is corrected by the French biographer of a famous pirate chief of this tribe: "*Mir-Mahnna*, fameux cheikh, et pirate Arabe, était d'une famille de la tribu de *Saab*, qui, vers le commencement du dix-huitième siècle, avait passé *des côtes du pays d'Omán* en Arabie, sur celles du Kerman en Perse, où elle s'était emparée de Bender-Ryek. Ce fut dans cette ville que Mir-Mahnna naquit en 1735. Son père Mir-Nasser, qui s'en était arrogé la souveraineté pendant les troubles de la Perse, avait envoyé son fils aîné *dans l'isle de Bahraïn*, qu'il venait de soumettre en société avec son voisin le Cheikh d'Abou-Schehr." — Biographie Universelle, tom. xxix. f. 137.

How striking to find the Saab, or Sabtah Arabs, reoccupying, in the eighteenth century, the sites occupied by their ancestors in the age of Ptolemy, and, most probably, in that of Moses. The Saphtha of Ptolemy lay in the province of Bahrein.

parently in the neighbourhood of the Shat al Arab, is the only probable vestige I can discover, of the name, or settlements, of Sabtecha.

RAAMAH. If comparatively obscure traces remain, in the Arabian peninsula, of the colonies from Sabtah and Sabtecha, the deficiency is more than compensated by the stream of historic light, which illustrates the fortunes of their brother Raamah. The establishment, and wide-spread settlements of this Cushite patriarch, and of his sons Sheba and Dedan, in Arabia, can be traced by a triple chain of evidences, from Scripture, from the classics, and from the modern geography of the country, in which not a link seems wanting or imperfect.

In his memorable prediction of the fall of Tyre, the prophet Ezekiel makes *collective* mention of Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, as among the nations of Arabia who traded with that queen of ancient commerce. "*Dedan* was thy merchant, in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold."*

* Ezek. xxvii. 20—22.

In his prophecy against Gog, speaking of his purposed invasion of Arabia, the same prophet introduces "*Sheba* and *Dedan*" together, as neighbouring, or kindred nations. "And thou shalt say, I will go up to the land of unwalled villages: I will go to them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars, nor gates; to take a spoil, and to take a prey; to turn thine hand upon the desolate places, that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, that dwell in the midst of the land. *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and the merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof, shall say unto thee, Art thou come to take a spoil? hast thou gathered thy company to take a prey? to carry away silver and gold, to take away cattle and goods, to take a great spoil?"*

That the Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, made mention of in these predictions, were the descendants of Raamah, the son, and of his sons Sheba and Dedan, the grandsons, of Cush, (not to pause upon the obvious presumption, arising from the identity and union of names,) may be inferred, for the present, from two circumstances: 1. the Cushite Raamah is the only patriarch of

* Ezek. xxxviii. 11—13.

the name noticed in the Old Testament; 2. It is agreeable to Scripture usage, to conjoin the sons, or the nations descending from them, with the parent stock. The strict correctness of this latter inference will be largely and clearly shown, as we proceed, upon the independent authority of the classic geographers; by whom we shall find Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, similarly joined together; and the very people, and parts of Arabia, intended by the prophet, indicated and ascertained, by the corresponding commercial products.

Thus much premised, the reader is invited to trace the ample settlements of Raamah and his two sons in the classic geographers, in a circuit round the peninsula, from the mouth of the Persian Gulf, to the head of the Arabian. In each step of which progress, he will find the ancient authorities, both scriptural and classical, confirmed and elucidated by the modern geography of the country.

It has already appeared, that the Cushite patriarchs, on their emigration from Susiana or Chuzistan, fell down towards the south, and settled, usually in the order of seniority, along the western coast of the Persian Gulf; calling the country after their own names, or that of their father Ham; which names have been preserved

in these parts of Arabia, through all preceding ages, to the present day. The primitive settlements of Raamah, therefore, we should look for, and may expect to find, in juxtaposition with those of his elder brethren Seba, Havilah, and Sabtah, in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. Conformably with this anticipation, accordingly, in the geography of Ptolemy, we recover the city of Raamah, or Rhegma (the Greek rendering of Raamah in the LXX version), near the mouth of the Gulf, between the Zar or Lar river, and Cape Mussendom: a place still subsisting on this coast, but corrupted, in modern charts, from Ramah to Rumms. The patriarchal name Raamah is, in this quarter, further preserved by the classics, in that of the inhabitants of the adjoining district, who are styled by Ptolemy, *Anariti*, by Pliny, *Epimaranitæ;* the former being a corruption, the latter (as will presently more fully appear) the received Arabic anagram, of *Rhamanitæ*, or the sons of Raamah. That this ancient people derived their origin and name from Raamah the son of Cush, is further confirmed by a fresh coincidence; their juxtaposition with another Cushite settlement, bearing the name, and preserving to this day the memory, of his younger son, Dedan. For, immediately opposite the town of Ramah, across the narrow

neck of land terminating in Cape Mussendom, or the promontory of the Asabi (the Seba of Scripture), in the midst of Cushite names and colonies, we find still in being the town of Daden or Dadena; the origin of both names, by reciprocal evidence, being thus doubly referred to Raamah, and his son Dedan. In confirmation of the inference, already drawn by Bochart and others, from the juxtaposition of these kindred names, the reader has only to recall to mind the Cushite names of Aval or Havilah, Cusean or Cushan, Seba or the Sabi, all of which, it has been seen, occur in this immediate district; and all of which unite to denote this whole neighbourhood as the seat of primitive settlements from Cush; while, as though to leave nothing wanting to the restoration, the name of his father Ham, also, here appears in all its various forms, . . in the Littus Hammæum of Pliny, and its chief town Maham, . . in his Amnon or Ammon flumen, or the Omân river, . . and in the well-known name and province of Omân (the Bedouin pronunciation of Ammon), whose inhabitants are said, by Bochart, to speak of themselves as descendants of Seba, or Saba, the grandson of Ham by Cush.

From the near connection of the names in the propheey, Dedan, the son of Raamah, would appear to have been the people, and Daden, with-

outside the mouth of the Persian Gulf, the place, intended by Ezekiel, in his prediction concerning Tyre, "Dedan was thy merchant, in precious clothes for chariots." And, from the actual occurrence together on the one hand, of a Ramah and Dedan, in this quarter of Arabia, and the repeated mention together in Scripture, on the other hand, of Sheba and Raamah, without naming Dedan, the legitimate inference (the accurate distinctions of the sacred writers considered) would seem to be, that Dedan originally colonized the settlements on the Persian Gulf, bearing his own, and (as was the manner of the patriarchs) his father's name; and that the settlements of Raamah, by his elder son, Sheba, should be sought elsewhere. This natural deduction, it will hereafter be seen, is fully borne out by facts. But, not to anticipate, we will now follow the colonies of Raamah over the peninsula, until they conduct us, in regular course, to the country indicated in Scripture under the designation of "Sheba and Raamah."

The Anariti, Maranitæ, or Epimaranitæ, a people described both by Ptolemy and Pliny as inhabiting the country about Ramah or Rhegama on the Persian Gulf, are easily identified, by the name of their chief city, as descendants of Raamah: *Maranitæ* being simply the anagram for

Ramanitæ. The rectification thus effected does not, however, rest solely on the general principle of the anagram. In tracing the colonies from Raamah, our next step will exhibit a precisely similar use of the anagram, in the instance of the same patriarchal name. Immediately south of his Zames Mons (the Mount Mesha of Scripture, as I hope elsewhere to establish) we find, in the Arabian geography of Ptolemy, the city of *Marata;* a place incontrovertibly identified, by its site, and by the relative localities, with the town of *Ramah*, in the district of Nedjd el Arûd. Its position, with reference to Mount Zames or Shaman, on the north, to the Asateni, or borderers on the Astan river, on the south, to the Iolisitæ, or district of El Ahsa, on the east, and, on the west, to the Uadeni, or inhabitants of Wady Sarr, leaves no shade of doubt as to Marata and Ramah being the one place and name; and, by necessary consequence, the Maranitæ and Ramanitæ one and the same patriarchal people.

But, while the town of Ramah or Marata, here in question, stands thus as a connecting link, between the primitive Cushite colonies on the Persian, and their branches, or offsets, on the Arabian Gulf, towards whom we shall by and by proceed; the ascertained identity, in the example

just adduced, of the two forms of this name, will further enable us to trace the name and family of Raamah in a great inland district of the peninsula, extending to the central portion of its southern coast. The province of *Mahrah*, like the city of *Marah* or *Marate*, obviously preserves the name of Raamah, under a common form of anagram. And this barren region possessed in ancient times, and retains in our own, decisive marks, at once of its being inhabited by a race wholly distinct from the neighbouring Joktanite tribes of Yemen, and of the distinction arising from its having been originally peopled by descendants of Ham, through Raamah, the fourth of the sons of Cush.

Difference of language is one of the surest tests of difference of race. And the people of Mahrah, according to the best authorities, speak a dialect * so different from the idiom of the Arabs of Yemen, as to be mutually unintelligible. This remarkable fact appears to have been not unknown to the Greeks; and M. d'Anville's notice of it in his chart, is confirmed by the testimony of Niebuhr.

Again, while Ramah is written by Ptolemy Marata, Mahrah seems to be expressed by him

* Q. A remain of the عربية حمير, or Hamyaritic idiom?

under the corresponding denomination of Marimatha; by which name he designates the town and port of Merbat or Morebat, in Shehr, belonging, with the whole of the incense country, to the people of Mahrah. But Marimatha, like Marata, is only the anagram of Raamah; and a token, consequently, and proof of Cushite colonization.

In addition to these marks of difference of race, in the people of Mahrah, from the surrounding Arab tribes, and of that difference arising from their Cushite origin, it is deserving of notice, that Pliny places in this country his *Hamirei;* a people whose name still exists in that of Ras Hamier, on the coast of Seger; and whose name, taken in connection with the foregoing indications, would seem significantly to refer their origin to Ham.

As we approach the Arabian Gulf, along a line running north of the Joktanite kingdom of Yemen, the land-marks of Cushite colonization become not less frequent and prominent, than those which have engaged the attention of the learned on the side of the Persian Gulf. The scriptural names of *Cush*, *Raamah*, and *Sheba*, constantly recur in this direction, both in the classical, and in the modern geography of the country. And the probability that the central

district of Mahrah is a settlement from Raamah, receives light and corroboration from the important fact of the existence, long prior to the Christian era, in the great western mountain range, of a powerful state and people, bearing the joint names, of Raamah, and of Sheba, the elder of his sons. I have elsewhere noticed the indestructible physical characters, which identify the Dowaser Bedouins, inhabiting the district of Wady Dowaser (the Madasara of Ptolemy), lying nearly due north of Haulan (the Joktanite Havilah), in the forty-sixth degree of longitude, and eighteenth degree of latitude, ... with the Sebaim of Scripture, or the descendants of Seba, the first-born of Cush. I have now to observe that, in the same direction, west of the Wady Dowaser, and north of Sanaa, between the sixteenth and eighteenth degrees of latitude, we find, in the ancient geography of Arabia, a people styled by Strabo, *Rhamanitæ*, and by Ptolemy, *Rhabanitæ**, and *Sabæi*, with their capital Mar-Suaba or Sabe; whose locality is preserved and determined, in its modern topography, by the town of *Sabbia*, in the district of Sabiê, in the same

* Their common position, north of Mount Climax, concurs with the resemblance of the two names, to argue the identity of the Rhabanitæ of Ptolemy, with the Rhamanitæ of Strabo; especially as *m* and *b* are interchangeable in Arabic.

parallel; and whose name, in conjunction with that of their chief city, and of the province in which it stands, argues, as clearly as the strong evidence of local nomenclature can argue, the joint settlement and kingdom of Raamah and his son Sheba, or of the Cushite Sabeans.

The celebrated expedition of the Romans under Ælius Gallus, into this quarter of Arabia, undertaken in the reign of Augustus, not only brought to light the existence, but enables us, also, to fix with certainty the site of this great Cushite colony. The Rhamanitæ are described by Strabo, as situated immediately below the mountain region of Ilasar, and as lying south of Chaulan and Nedjran (the Χαάλλα, and πόλις Αγραιῶν, of this geographer). A march of nine days brought the Roman legions, on their retreat to Nedjran, from before the walls of the capital, Marsuabæ. This single fact determines the distance between Marsuabæ and Nedjran, and directs us, consequently, to the site of that city; which accurately corresponds with the site of Sabbia, a town placed, on M. Niebuhr's map of Yemen, in the valley which separates the eastern and western chains of the Yemen mountains, running south from Chaulan, in the eighteenth degree of latitude. The name, the neighbourhood, and every particular of the locality,

agree, in all points, both with the position of Sabe in Ptolemy, and with Strabo's description of Marsuabæ. For, 1. Sabbia lies under the Asyr mountains, the country of the Asyr, or El Asyr Arabs: a district and tribe obviously identical with the Ilasaros, and Elisari, of those geographers. 2. On the hills above Sabbia, W. N. W., we meet, in Niebuhr's chart, a town or village still named Elasera. 3. The name of Strabo's Rhamanitæ is still preserved, in that of the neighbouring town of Aram (Al Ramah), while, 4. The Sabæi of Ptolemy give its present name to this whole region, which, as I have already observed after M. d'Anville, is denominated Sabiê.

With this accumulation of local evidences for our guidance, there cannot remain a rational doubt, on the one hand, that we have now recovered the country and capital of the Rhamanitæ and Sabæi of Strabo and Ptolemy; on the other hand, that these Rhamanite Sabeans were a Cushite race, and the same with the "Sheba and Raamah," in like manner, mentioned together in the prophecy of Ezekiel.

The correctness of the latter of these inferences is decided by one conclusive fact. The products of the neighbourhood of the Rhamanitæ are stated by Strabo: the merchandize of Sheba and

Raamah is specified by Ezekiel: and their identity serves to complete the proof, that the people spoken of by both authorities were one and the same. On his arrival before Marsuabæ, the capital of the Rhamanitæ, Ælius Gallus, the Roman geographer informs us, learned, from his prisoners, that he was within two days' march of *the spice country*, . . the great object of his expedition. Upon this statement, the words of the prophet shall be our only comment: "The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs *with chief of all spices*."*

The descriptive accuracy of Scripture language is remarkably illustrated, by the foregoing identification of the Rhamanitæ with the Sabæi; and of both classical denominations with the Sheba and Raamah spoken of by Ezekiel. The prophet joins these patriarchal names together; a circumstance, according to the established rules of sacred geography, indicative of the union, or rather of the unity, of a people descended from Raamah by his elder son. But the inference thus justly deducible from the language of Scripture, has been here conclusively established by the independent authority of the classic writers. Dedan, on the other hand, of whom separate

* Ezek. xxvii. 22.

mention is made in the same passage of Ezekiel, has been found, in matter-of-fact conformity with the scriptural distinction, separated from his elder brother by the entire breadth of the peninsula; and seated beside Ramah or Rhegma, apparently the primitive seat of their father, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

The recovery of the site and settlements of "Sheba and Raamah," in the country of the Rhamanite Sabeans of Yemen, is, however, only one part of the proof that Cushite colonies extended, originally, over this entire quarter of Arabia. The country south of Sabiê abounds with traces of the name and family of Cush. For the recovery of these traces in the Djebal, or mountain districts of Yemen, we are indebted chiefly to the judicious research of M. Niebuhr, who justly regards the recurrence of the local denominations in question, as probable indications of extensive Cushite settlements, in ancient times, in these parts.

We shall now, accordingly, avail ourselves of the materials supplied by this intelligent traveller: materials to the use of which we pass with increased advantage and reliance, from the manifest connection subsisting between the preceding national restorations, and his more minute details; and the light which evidences thus

wholly independent, must necessarily reflect upon each other.

A highly valuable confirmation of the identity of the modern province of Sabiê, and of its ancient inhabitants, the Rhamanite Sabeans, with the Cushite Raamah and Sheba, arises on our first reference to the "Description de l'Arabie;" where we find, in the Djebal, another *Sabbia*, a large town or village, seated in a district retaining, to this day, the patriarchal name of *Beni Khûsi*, or the sons of Cush. Another district, of the same name, *Beni Keis*, is noticed by our author in the Tehama. In the former district occurs a village named Beit el Khûsi. A third small district connects the name of Cush with that of his son Raamah: namely, that of Beni Khûsi, in the province, or department, of Rama. The city of Kusma, south of Rama, M. Niebuhr rightly conjectures to have derived its name and origin from Cush: a conjecture which receives strong light and confirmation from a remote quarter, in the corresponding denomination of Dooat el Kusma, a harbour of the ancient Havilah, near the head of the Persian Gulf; the acknowledged site of the earliest Cushite settlements. The juxtaposition, in the Djebal, of Kusma and Rama, I need only add, very materially strengthens the connection of both names with Cush; and further

seems to denote, so far as evidence of this kind can denote, the city of Kusma to have been a southern seat of the same Rhamanite Sabeans, whose northern frontier was invaded by Gallus.

The first traces of Raamah were found in the town of Ramah, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf: his last great settlement will transport the inquirer to the head of the Arabian, and the borders of the land of Egypt, the seat of another branch of the family of Ham.

From a passage of Ezekiel already adduced, it has been shown, that the boundary of the Egyptian frontier, on the side of Arabia, was anciently denominated "the border of Cush." From a place of the prophet Habakkuk, it has further appeared, that Cushite settlements lay intermingled with those of Midian, in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Ailah. Of these last-named colonies, alluded to by the prophet as "the tents of Cushan," distinct traces are still visible, in the town of Aln Shushan or Cushan, on the coast, nearly a degree south-east of Moilah, and in the island opposite of the same name.

The survey of the Arabian peninsula, which has been taken in this section, from the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, in a circuit to the western head of the Arabian Gulf, may now be brought to a close by a brief notice of the indi-

cations that the region adjoining Egypt was originally peopled by Raamah.

The footsteps of the far-spread stock of this patriarch are discernible in the ancient nomenclature of this part of Arabia. Thus Strabo and Diodorus Siculus concur in the mention of the Maranitæ, as a people, in still earlier times, inhabiting the western coast of the Elanitic Gulf. But this ancient tribe, the commentators on Pliny rightly consider as a branch, or rather as the parent stem, of his Epimaranitæ (the Anariti of Ptolemy), who have been, elsewhere, identified with the inhabitants of the city and district of Ramah; a Cushite colony on the Persian Gulf. That the Maranitæ of the peninsula of Mount Sinai were descendants also of Raamah, will presently be further apparent, on the recovery of his name, undisguised by anagram, in those of a city, and of an extensive district, in the country on the opposite, or eastern side, of the Elanitic Gulf. In this quarter, Ptolemy mentions the city of *Aramaua*, or *Al Ramah;* the Arabic article being, by him, incorporated in the spelling, as, by the Arabs, it is in the pronunciation, with the proper name.

It remains only to recall the attention of the reader to the principles of inquiry, laid down at the commencement of this section. It will be

for him to form his own judgment, on a candid retrospect of the evidences as a whole, how far the antecedent probabilities, as to the course likely to be pursued by the first settlers, in a country circumstanced like the Arabian peninsula, have been sustained and corroborated, by the train of facts here submitted: . . by the continuous landmarks of Cushite colonies which encircle the peninsula, from the banks of the Euphrates, to the neighbourhood of the Nile.

To the author's own mind, he must confess, it has afforded no small satisfaction to find (in practical confirmation of the significant language of Scripture), as the result of investigation into the most ancient, and, consequently, the most obscure of the patriarchal settlements, in this oldest inhabited region of the world, . . . that Egypt is not more justly named, by the sacred writers, "the land of Ham," than Arabia is denominated, in Scripture, "the land of Cush."

SECTION II.

SETTLEMENTS OF JOKTAN.

"OF the Beni Sad, and of the Kahtan Arabs, Masoudi says, in his work entitled 'The Golden Meadows,' that they are the only remnants of the primitive tribes of Arabia. Most of the other tribes about Mekka, Tayf, and Medinah, are well known in Arabian history, since the propagation of Islam; others, such as Hodheyl, Koreysh, Thekyf, Fahem, Mezeyne, Harb, prior to Mohammed. But the two tribes above mentioned, the Beni Sad and Kahtan, are famed in the most remote antiquity; when Arabian history, for the greater part, is covered with complete darkness." *

In the latter of these primeval tribes, the Beni Kahtan, we are here introduced, in the words of Burckhardt, to the first Arab colonists of the race of the blessed Shem; a younger branch of the patriarchal stock of Abraham; the genuine and undoubted descendants of the patriarch Eber, by his second son, Joktan.†

* Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 244.

† قحطان nom. proprium viri, qui Arabiæ Felicis pater dicitur. — Gieuhari ap. Gol.

The consent of testimonies, which establishes the immemorial claim of the Beni Kahtan, or Kahtanys, to this illustrious origin, excepting only the case of the line of Abraham, is unexampled in the history of nations. For want, however, of that close and exact investigation, so peculiarly essential in this species of research, but few of those testimonies have heretofore been noticed, even incidentally; while the greater part, and the most important, have altogether escaped the attention of the learned. The consequence has been, that, instead of the historical connection, between the Beni Kahtan of modern Arabia, and the Joktanite tribes enumerated by Moses, being clearly traced and verified, through the intermediate and independent links of Greek and Roman literature, the fact of such connection has been allowed to rest, almost entirely, on the faithful, indeed, but unsupported witness of Arabian tradition.

In the following essay to restore the families of Joktan, and thereby to vindicate the historical authority of the Mosaic narrative in this part of Genesis, I propose, first, to prove the existence in Arabia, in after-times, of as many tribes, bearing the names of the thirteen sons of this patriarch; and, secondly, to establish the identity of those various tribes with the great tribe of

Kahtan, which, at this day, overspreads the entire south, and centre, of the peninsula.* Under both heads, it shall be my constant aim to consolidate the proof, by binding together the successive and separate evidences of the Scriptures, of the classics, of Arab history and tradition, and of the modern geography of the country.

The passage from Masoudi, at the opening of this section, speaks the voice of Arabian history, as to the primitive antiquity of the great Kahtan tribe: a voice corroborated, on the one hand, by old and universal national tradition; on the other hand, by the, perhaps, still stronger evidence of the existing names, localities, and population, of central and southern Arabia.

But, if the Beni Kahtan be a people of the high antiquity here laid claim to; if they are, indeed, the same race with the Joktanites of old; it may justly be expected and required, that clear marks of their name and nation shall ap-

* "On sait que les Arabes se divisent en deux classes: Les uns, descendans de Sem, par Joktan, fils d'Eber, ont peuplé l'Arabie Heureuse, et toute la côte, depuis la partie du Tehama, où sont situées, aujourd'hui, Loheia, Zébid, et Mokha, et le détroit de Babelmandeb; jusqu'au Golfe Persique, et, *peut-être*, jusqu'au l'embouchure de l'Euphrate. Les traditions des Arabes sur leur origine, sont, à cette égard, confirmées par le réeit des écrivains sacrés; ainsi que Bochart, et, après lui, Michaëlis, l'ont prouvé, dans leurs savantes recherches sur la géographie ancienne des Hébreux."—Sylvestre de Sacy, ap. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tome xlviii. p. 598.

pear in the ancient geographers, especially in the pages of Pliny and Ptolemy, who (as the reader may perceive at a glance on the maps which accompany this memoir) seem to have exhausted every important particular that could be known, or told, of the tribes inhabiting Arabia in their times.

Conformably with this just expectation, we recover, in Ptolemy, the name, and, apparently, the tribe of the Beni Kahtan, or Kahtanys, in his Katanitæ; a people placed by the Alexandrine geographer immediately south of Mount Zames, or Zametas, in the southern parts of Nedjd. The identity of this name and people with the Kahtan of the Arabs, and the Joktan of Scripture, has not escaped the observation of Bochart; whose inference the present writer is enabled to convert, from a probability, into a certainty, by now proving, on the authority of Burckhardt, that encampments of the Kahtan Arabs still make their annual sojourn in this very quarter. "In December, 1814," observes this accurate traveller, "the Kahtans made an incursion towards Djidda, and carried off the whole baggage of some Turkish cavalry, stationed to protect the road between Djidda and Mekka.... Large parties of them (he adds) sometimes pasture their cattle in the province

of Nedjed." * The latter of these facts is conclusive for the identity of the Kahtanys with the Katanitæ: especially when taken in connection with another circumstance, also stated by Mr. Burckhardt, which argues the prescriptive permanence of their occupancy in those parts, . . . the alliance, namely, of these Beni Kahtan with the Meteyr tribe, for the mutual maintenance, against the Aenezes, of their rights of pasturage in Nedjd.†

In this clear identification of the Kahtan Bedouins of Nedjd with the ancient Katanitæ, we have recovered, however, in the Arabian geography of Ptolemy, no more than a flying outpost, on the northern frontier of the mighty tribe of Kahtan. The native seats of the modern Kahtanys, both settlers and Bedouins, are to be sought far towards the south, in the fertile hills and plains of Yemen. In this quarter, beginning with the country in the neighbourhood of Beishe, a town entitled by the Arabs "the key of Yemen," and situated on one of the great roads from Nedjd to Yemen, the Bedouin Kahtanys are to be met with in great force. "About three or four days' journey to the E. and S. E. of Beishe," remarks Burckhardt, "the plain is

* Travels in Arab. Appendix, vol. ii. p. 385.
† Ib. pp. 400, 401.

covered with numerous encampments of the Kahtan Arabs; one of the most ancient tribes, that flourished, long before Mohammed, in the idolatrous ages." * In his "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys," these roving Beni Kahtan are further spoken of as "the strongest and most considerable tribe, between the Ateybe [N. E. of Mekka] and Hadramáut." †

While the Bedouins of Kahtan thus wander, at the present day, over an inland tract extending between the 16th and 24th degrees of latitude, Mr. Burckhardt describes the settled Kahtanys as seated at Dahban, a chief town on the great western chain of mountains running towards Yemen. But that in Yemen are to be sought their primitive and proper seats, we know on the high authority of Abulfeda, who represents the Beni Kahtan as the inhabitants of the famous Mâreb or Mariaba, the metropolis of the illustrious Sabean kingdom of Yemen.

From this summary of authorities it is clear, that the Katanitæ of Ptolemy formed a small branch only of the Bedouin Kahtanys; while the settled tribes of Kahtan prove, apparently, to be the once celebrated nation known to the ancients (doubtless from their scriptural patronymic) under the denomination of Sabeans;

* Travels in Arab. Appendix, vol. iii. p. 384.

† Notes on B. and W. p. 243.

the descendants of Sheba, the tenth of the sons of Joktan.

If these inferences be well founded, it would seem necessarily to follow, that conspicuous traces of the name and tribe of the Beni Kahtan must exist in the ancient geographers. Yet, with the exception of the Katanitæ of Nedjd, no such traces have been discerned, either by Bochart, or by succeeding writers. Convinced, in a country circumstanced like Arabia, by the present actual existence, of the past necessary existence, of both name and nation, the author, at length, was led to observe, in the well-known classical denominations Katabania, Katabanum or Kabatanum, and Katabeni or Kottabani, so many easy inversions of the name Beni Kahtan.* The clue thus once recovered, the course of further investigation rapidly disclosed the settlements of this wide-spread, and once powerful people, stretching, in nearly continuous series,

* The value of this simple restoration may be better appreciated, by contrast with the etymological puerilities into which Bochart himself was betrayed, in his vain attempt to decipher the name *Katabeni*. "Nomina Catabanorum et Gebanitarum quod attinet, cùm גבא, *gaba* vel *geba* tributum exigere, et כתב, *catab* vel *cetab*, scribere significet, unde et כתבן, *catban*, scriba; puto Syros mercatores gentis avaritiam, *his epithetis vèrius quam nominibus* suggillasse, quod videretur modum excedere, in aromatum quæ efferebantur descriptione, et vectigalium exactione..... Ut pateat Gebanitas, seu *telonarios*, appellari non immerito, et quod eódem redit, Catabanes, כתבנים, id est, *scribas* seu *notarios*, &c. [!]"—Geograph. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. xxi. fo. 116.

from the Katabania of Strabo, and its famed inhabitants, the Katabeni of Dionysius, to the Kottabani of Ptolemy, on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the vicinage of Omân and the Persian Gulf.

Fresh light is thrown on this verification by the further fact, that the name of the ancient Katabania is still preserved in that of the department of Kataba, and of its chief town, also named Kataba, the Bana of Ptolemy; both names being different contractions only of Katabana. The site of the modern Kataba, 83 geographical miles N. W. of Aden, the distance and parallels of latitude being nearly identical with those assigned by Ptolemy to his Bana and Arabiae emporium, leaves its identity with the ancient Bana and Katabania without the possibility of doubt. The conclusion that both names were derived from that of the inhabitants, the Beni Kahtan, had been drawn by the present writer from the internal evidence, before he was at all aware of the decisive fact, that the districts of Yemen, at this day, bear, almost uniformly, the names of the tribes inhabiting them; as Beni Keis, Beni Jobûb, Beni Jerhä, with numerous similar denominations, which the curious reader will find in M. Niebuhr's map of Yemen. That these local denominations, both ancient and modern, must

have been so derived, might be assumed as self-evident, were not their origin ascertained by the incidental testimony of Burckhardt; who, in his description, after the journal of a pilgrim, of the route from Tayf to Sanaa, remarks on these parts of Yemen, "the country, here, is called after the names of the inhabitants."* A single example, that of the district of Zohran, will suffice to show, that the usage is not less ancient, than general, in Arabia. The country of Zohran we find peopled, in Ptolemy, by the Dorcni or Zoreni: and from Burckhardt we learn that Zohran, at the present day, is "inhabited by Arabs of the same name."†

The recovery of the ancient Katabeni in the Beni Kahtan of Yemen, while it lets in a flood of light upon the classical geography of central and southern Arabia, will be found not more available to vindicate the authority of the ancients, than to rectify the errors, and correct the pretension, of modern science. Thus, for one example in point, under the very mistaken impression, that by the term Katabeni, or Kottabani, the Greek geographers meant to designate a particular people, occupying a particular district, of Arabia, some modern commentators have found Ptolemy guilty

* Trav. in Arab., vol. ii. p. 381. App. No. iii.
† Ib. vol. ii. pp. 373, 374. App. No. i.

of gross errour, in transporting the Katabeni, from the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, to the mountains of Omân.* The foregoing plain, and simple restoration, however, proves the alleged errour to be, not Ptolemy's, but their own. For, while the settled Arabs of the great Beni Kahtan tribe are to be met with, at this day, both on the coasts, and in the heart of Yemen, its Bedouin encampments stretch quite across the peninsula, and connect its settlements on the western, with others on the eastern side.

But the inversion Kata-beni, for Beni-Kahtan, is only one, and this the simplest, of the various forms of disguise, under which the Kahtan Arabs lie concealed in the classical geography of Arabia. Their name, and the several nations into which they were subdivided in ancient times, are further recoverable under the anagrams of Kithebanitæ, Gebanitæ, Anchitæ, in

* "Catabani . . . porro ad angustias fretumque Arabici sinus pertinuisse idem [Eratosthenes apud Strab. l. xvi. p. 768.] est auctor: . . . *ingenti errore* ad fauces Persici sinus eos locante Ptolem. vi. 7." (Harduin ap. Plin. Nat. Hist. tom. iii. p. 1186. note *q*, edit. 8vo. Lond. 1826.) Our latest and best authority on Omân and its inhabitants will show where the *ingens error* really lies:—"The Arabian historians derive the present population of Omân from two stocks; *Jactan*, the son of Eber, and Adnan, the descendant of Ishmael. In Omân, the posterity of the former are styled Ummarí, and that of the latter, Gaáffrí; but these terms seem peculiar to the province. . . . . These two classes, in Omân, regard each other [among Arabs, the surest mark of difference of race] with mutual hatred."—Wellsted, Trav. in Arab. vol. i. p. 336.

the pages of Ptolemy and Pliny. The proofs which establish these restorations, must be reserved for their proper places, in the second part of this memoir. It will suffice, for the present, to remark, that Ptolemy's Kithebanitæ occupied the tract of country, in the neighbourhood of Beishe, which Burckhardt represents as now covered with encampments of the Beni Kahtan: and that the commentators on Pliny have been compelled, by the evidence of facts, to recognize the identity of his Gebanitæ, with the Katabeni of Eratosthenes and Strabo; acknowledging these to be, indubitably, one and the same nation; though, in so doing, wholly unconscious of the fact, that Katabeni, and Gebanitæ, are merely anagrammatized forms of the one Arabic name.

Thus far it very plainly appears, that the Katabeni, or Beni Kahtan, Arabs, extended anciently, as they now extend, over the greater part of central and southern Arabia; from the borders of Nedjd, to the shores of the Indian ocean, and from the coast of the Arabian Gulf, to the mountains of Omân. From the identity and diffusion, we pass, in the next place, to the origin of the race.

The antiquity and universality of the national tradition, which identifies the Kahtan of the Arabs, and his descendants, the Katanitæ, Kah-

tanys, or Beni Kahtan, with the Joktan, and Joktanite families, of Scripture, is familiar to every reader conversant with the history of Mahometan Arabia. Not only has the great Beni Kahtan tribe itself immemorially claimed Kahtan (the idiomatic anagram for Joktan) as their father; but their indisputable claim to this Semitic origin is recognized by the consenting voice of all the other tribes.

That Kahtan and Joktan are only different forms of the one patriarchal name, has been always stated by the Arabs themselves; and might safely be inferred from the known tendency of their idiom to the use of anagrammatic inversions. But in questions illustrative, at once, of the origin of mankind, and of the fidelity of him, to whom alone belongs the title of "the father of history," every concurring proof, every corroborative circumstance, has its value. In connection with the question now before us, Bochart has adduced one highly valuable proof that Kahtan and Joktan are, as the Arabs affirm, one and the same name and person: the fact, namely, that Beishe, a town of great antiquity in the neighbourhood of the Kahtan Arabs, and described by Burckhardt as "the key of Yemen," the cradle of the race, retains the scriptural name, Baisath Yoktan, or Joktan, in its unaltered integrity, to this day.

This most remarkable circumstance is, however, only one of numerous direct indications, supplied by the geography of Arabia, both classical and modern, as to the national identity of the primitive Joktanite tribes, with the present Kahtanys of Nedjd, Omân, and Yemen. A few leading particulars of this kind shall now briefly be noticed, as preliminary to this branch of the scriptural colonization.

1. Between Mekhra and the Djebal, or mountain country of Yemen, Ptolemy places the Anchitæ, or Achitæ: the name being identical with Kahtan, and the Kahtanys, only with the article prefixed, and the nunnation omitted; and the site corresponding with the country round Beishe. But Beishe, we have seen, still retains the patriarchal name unaltered, in that of Baisath Joktan; a fact conclusive for the identity of Ptolemy's Anchitæ (Al Kahtanys) with that scriptural race and name.

2. The identity of the names Kahtan and Joktan can be further established by the additional circumstance, that several districts of the ancient Katabania still bear the names of several of the sons of Joktan. Thus, in M. Niebuhr's map of Yemen, we find the districts of Beni Jobûb, and Beni Jerhä, lying immediately north of Katabana or Kataba, and peopled by tribes of

the same names. The scepticism which could doubt the derivation of this local nomenclature, from Jerah, the fourth, and Jobab, the youngest of the sons of Joktan, must be extravagant enough, it may safely be assumed, to defeat its own object. The former of these patriarchs, it will hereafter be seen, has left such traces after him in these parts, as to be known among the Arabs by the title of "the father of Yemen."

3. The capital of the ancient Sabeans, the celebrated Mareb, anciently named Saba, . . . presumably from the Joktanite patriarch Sheba, . . . is still inhabited, as we learn from Abulfeda, by the Kahtan Arabs; whose identity of name with the Joktan of Moses is, in this quarter, corroborated afresh, by the occurrence of the Joktanite name of Havilah, as the denomination of a district adjoining Mareb or Saba on the north, as Diklah and Uzal adjoin it on the south-west.

4. The great province of Hadramáut, the country of the Adramitæ of Pliny, is allowed, by most authorities, to have derived its name from Hazarmaveth.* But the correctness of

* "Toutes les tribus Arabes, comprises sous le nom de *Saba*, reconnoissent pour auteur Kahtan, le même qui est nommé par Moïse Joktan. Cet écrivain sacré nomme *Saba* au nombre des enfans de Joktan, ou plutôt des peuplades formées par ses descendans; *et on ne peut douter* que le pays de Saba, سبا, ديار comme disent les Arabes, ne soit le même que

this opinion will appear more clear, when it is remarked that, as in the case of Havilah, the spelling of the two names is identically the same, in the modern Arabic, and in the original Hebrew: that, as Haulan is converted into Havilah, so Hadramáut is modulated into Hazarmaveth, merely by the use of the diacritic points, . . . an artifice, allowedly, of recent and rabbinical invention.

5. The historical proof that Kahtan and Joktan are, as the Arabs have always affirmed, the one name, may, at this early stage of the inquiry, probably be thought to receive sufficient confirmation from the further very remarkable circumstance, that the ancient metropolis of Hadramáut, now termed Shibam, was known to the Greeks and Romans by the name of Baenum, Kabatanum, or Katabanum, . . . like those of Katabania, Katabana, and the Katabeni, . . . manifestly a generic appellation from the inhabitants, the Beni Kahtan: who become thus identified, at all points, with the posterity of Joktan, the son of Eber, by the imperishable nomenclature of Arabian topography; as they had previously

Moïse a eu en vue, *de même que* حضرموت, l'Hadramáut des Arabes, est constamment le Hazarmoth, חצרמות du livre de la Genèse."—Mém. sur l'Hist. des Arabes A. M. par M. Sylvestre de Sacy, ap. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tome xlviii. p. 502.

been so identified, by the universal testimony of Arabian history and tradition.

The point thus far attained, has been the verification of the generic identity, between the Kahtanys, or Beni Kahtan, of modern Arabia, the Katanitæ and Katabeni of the classical geographers, and the posterity of Joktan, enumerated in the tenth chapter of Genesis. The establishment of this grand fundamental point is, however, but the first link in the chain of evidences, ancient and modern, which form our clue to the recovery, not only of the race of Joktan generally, but particularly, also, of the separate tribes descended from his sons. For, in the course of this inquiry, it shall be my object to show, that twelve, at least, out of the thirteen Joktanite tribes mentioned by Moses, were comprized under the generic name Katabeni, or Beni Kahtan; each tribe being further distinguished by its proper patronymic; and all of them, as the illustrious author of Phaleg has intimated, being distinctly preserved, with unconscious fidelity, by the great geographers of antiquity.

As the first step towards the recovery of the local positions of these several tribes, it is obviously desirable to effect, if possible, the settlement of a previous, and much controverted question, . . . the true site and limits of the re-

gion, stated in Scripture to have been peopled by the sons of Joktan. The words of Moses which define these limits, so familiar to every reader of Genesis, have given rise, as all are aware, to frequent discussions, and great differences of opinion, in the learned world. "And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East."

Without perplexing the question, by entangling ourselves in the groundless theory, which would transport Joktan and his sons, from Mount Masius, in Mesopotamia, to a supposititious Mount Sephar, "the mountain adjoining to Siphare, a city in Asia*," and, thence, to the remote extremity of India, I shall proceed at once to the inquiry, in what opposite quarters of Arabia, the Mesha intended by Moses, and his Mount Sephar lay: a point of sacred history, towards the final adjustment of which we may obtain essential aid, from what has been previously established in this chapter, respecting the ancient, and the actual distribution over the peninsula of the great Kahtan tribe, or the Katanitæ and Katabeni of the Greek and Roman geographers.

The theory of Bochart, which makes Mesha the same with Muza, a port of the Joktanite Sabeans, near the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and which

* Wells.

understands by Sephar, the Djebal, or hill country of Yemen, where Ptolemy locates the city of Saphar, and a people named the Sapharitæ, may at once be dismissed on this simple ground, that the space enclosed between these limits is, probably, under a hundred, and cannot possibly be extended beyond one hundred and fifty, geographical miles: an interval altogether inadequate to the most moderate rational estimate of the boundaries of one of the most numerous of the patriarchal families, recorded as among the earliest postdiluvian peoplers of the earth.

That this great scholar is correct in that part of his theory, which identifies the Mosaic Mount Sephar with the Djebal, or rather with that part of this mountain region (the ancient Climax Mons*), where Ptolemy has placed his Saphar, and Sapharitæ, is, indeed, demonstrable: demonstrable, not only by the exact correspondence of names, but by the far more unequivocal fact, that the district in question lies in the heart of the ancient Katabania, and in the midst of

* "سمارة, *Sumâra*, ou *Nakil Sumâra*, la plusgrande, et la plushaute montagne, sur laquelle je sois monté dans l'Yemen, . . . est vraisemblablement la même montagne que les géographes Grecs appellent *Climax*." (Niebh. Descript. de l'Arab. tom. iii. p. 207.) Mount Climax is conterminous with the Djebal, or hill-country of Yemen, of which Nakil Sumâra is a part. For full proof of its site, and of the singular origin of its classical name, see Part II. Sect. V. of this work.

districts, which bear, to this day, the names of sons of Joktan.

The site of Mount Sephar being thus, apparently, an ascertained point, the great point to be determined is that of Mesha; which, Mount Sephar lying near the south-western extremity of the peninsula*, will, as the opposite boundary of Joktan, naturally be looked for in an opposite, or north-eastern direction. Now for the determination of this point, the preceding restoration of the families of Joktan, under the generic name of Katanitæ or Katabeni, Kahtanys or Beni Kahtan, supplies a clue, which did not before exist; and which carries the eye in a direction, and to a fixed point, altogether apart from the various sites of Mesha, adopted by the random, and self-destructive conjectures of the learned.

In the case of the settlements of Cush, we have seen the antecedent probabilities, as to the course likely to be pursued by the first colonists, in a country circumstanced like the Arabian peninsula, largely verified by the actual facts of Cushite colonization: the colonies from Cush

* A groundless objection may here present itself to some readers; that Sephar, which is called in Genesis "a mount of the East," should thus be sought in the extreme south-west of Arabia. That there is nothing in it will be easily perceived, when they are reminded, that the entire peninsula went, among the Jews, by the name of "the East," and "the East country."

being clearly traceable, in a nearly continuous circuit, round the coast, from the head of the Persian, to that of the Arabian Gulf. But this distribution of the aboriginal Cushite tribes necessarily determines, antecedently to other proof, the direction, in the first instance at least, of the subsequent settlements of Joktan. The Joktanite families, finding the coasts preoccupied, would naturally seek abodes, and pasture-grounds, in the interior. From the great northern deserts, (formed, as it were, to be the cradle, or primitive refuge, of Bedouin tribes still in their infant state,) we might confidently reckon, *a priori*, on their spreading gradually inland towards the south; whose fruitful hills, and fertile valleys, would be sure, in process of time, to invite the aggressions of their full-grown strength: until, in the eventual issue, the tribes from Joktan had founded colonies, and kingdoms, by the subjugation, or the expulsion, of their Cushite predecessors. Such, according to all antecedent probabilities, and according to every known historical analogy*, was the course likely to be followed. Let the theory be judged by its correspondence with the facts.

* The strongest analogy, for English readers, is that nearest home: the Welsh cooped up in one corner of Britain, the Scots in another, by their Saxon, or Norman, invaders.

Sephar being the southern term of the settlements of Joktan, Mesha, it has been assumed, must be situated towards the north. Now, of the Joktanite tribes noticed by Ptolemy, the most northern are the Katanitæ; a people bordering on Nedjd, and placed, by this geographer, immediately south of his Zames Mons. But, by their Mount Zames, or Zametas, it will be elsewhere shown, the ancients designed the great Nedjd chain, which, beginning in the neighbourhood of Ramah, and of the desert of Woshem, runs in a south-western direction; the central point of the chain, as Ptolemy has with great accuracy observed, being cut, or nearly cut, by the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude.

From Ptolemy's geography of Arabia it is further apparent, not only that the Katanitæ were seated south of this range, but that their return northward, or into Nedjd, must have been effectually barred by the great Ishmaelitish tribe, or tribes, who inhabited Mount Zames.

Both facts, it must now be stated, stand confirmed by the unconscious testimony of Burckhardt; from whom we gather, incidentally, that the northern limits of Joktan continue still the same as in the time of Ptolemy, or (we may safely assume) of Moses: this great traveller acquainting us, 1. that the Kahtanys of the present

day frequent these very parts periodically for the sake of pasture; and 2. that they are as constantly repelled, and compressed within their scriptural bounds, by the great Aeneze tribe, who have immemorially contended with them for the exclusive right of pasturage in Nedjd.

From unquestionable authorities, ancient and modern, it thus appears, that the settlements of Joktan, in point of geographical fact, were bounded, on the north, by the mountains of Nedjd, or the Mount Zames of the Greeks: a range peopled, in the time of Ptolemy, by the Masæmanes, and occupied, at the present day, by the Beni Samman, . . . manifestly the same tribe; whose name, like that of their neighbours the Themi, or Beni Temyn of Nedjd and Bahrein, announces their descent from Ishmael; the Masæmanes being named from Masma, as the Themi from Tema or Teman.

If then, conformably with the generally received belief, grounded on the whole internal evidences, local, traditional, and historical, the Sapharitæ of Ptolemy, seated in the south-western angle of the peninsula, were inhabitants of the Mount Sephar spoken of, by Moses, as one boundary of "the dwellings" of Joktan and his sons; it seems to follow, by natural and necessary consequence, that their opposite boundary

must have been situated in the north-east; in other words, that the Zames Mons of Ptolemy, immediately adjoining the site of his Katanitæ on the north, and forming, from time immemorial, the term, in that direction, of the Joktanite name and nations, is the true, and long-sought Mesha of Scripture.

The important restoration, thus authorized by the first general aspect of the facts, will be found corroborated at each step of a more circumstantial examination of the details.

To begin with the evidence of names. 1. By simply allowing for the use, in this case, of one of the most frequent and familiar usages of the Arabic idiom, that of the anagram or inversion, the Mesha of Moses, and the Zames Mons of the classical geographers, prove to be one and the same name: the letter z being, as in the parallel instance of *Z*amareni for Beni *Sh*ammar, the classical substitute for the Arabic or Hebrew letter *Schin*.

2. Both Mesha and Zames have every appearance of idiomatic contractions from Masæmanes*, or the Ishmaelite tribe of Mishma or Masma, the inhabitants, according to Ptolemy, of the Zames

* The Alexandrine Greek of the LXX agrees with the Alexandrine Greek of Ptolemy, in the rendering of this name; substituting *Masma*, for the Hebrew *Mishmah*.

Mons; which, agreeably with a very general usage in Arabia, thus derived its name from its inhabitants. The derivation, in this case, is further confirmed, by the existence of clear vestiges, at once of the ancient Ishmaelite name, and of its classical, or rather its vernacular modification, in the existing local nomenclature: in Sumana, the name of a town lying directly under the mountains of Ramah, and apparently the anagrammatic inversion of Masumah or Masma, or the city of Masma and the Masæmanes; and in the Beni Shaman, the name of a powerful tribe in this neighbourhood, who (the first syllable of the original patronymic being dropt, after the common practice of the Arabs) still preserve the name, and, by just inference, the nation, of Mishma or Masma, and the Masæmanes.

3. The assumed anagrammatic change of Mesha, to Zames or Zametas, Shaman or Sumama, is sanctioned by an unquestionable example in point, elsewhere noticed, of the occurrence of a similar anagram in this very district; whose chief city appears in Ptolemy under the denomination of Marata, the anagram for Ramah, but, in the modern geography of the country, has recovered its ancient Cushite name.

The contraction of Mishma or Masma, and Masæmanes, into Shaman or Saman, will, here-

after, be more fully exemplified from neighbouring local denominations: from Samman (apparently the seat of the Beni Shaman of Burckhardt), a place situated due north, and from Oozoomah, or al Zamah, a town situated due east, of Mount Zames: the country around being wholly peopled, in the time of Ptolemy, by the Ishmaelitish tribes of the Themi, and the Masæmanes; and (if the evidence of names be of any value whatever) being, at this day, occupied by the same Ishmaelitish tribes, under the vernacular appellations of Beni Temyn or Temym, and Beni Shaman or Saman.

The detail of proofs which identifies the mountains of Ramah, with the Mount Zames of classical antiquity, and which, as I hope to evince, amounts to a geographical demonstration, properly belongs to the second part of this memoir. Assuming the point, therefore, for the present, I shall proceed to complete the evidences, which are conceived to establish the identity of Mount Zames, with the Mesha of Genesis. Their identity has been already inferred, from the fact of the Zames Mons of Ptolemy being the northern boundary of his Katanitæ, the last Joktanite settlement, or encampment rather, in this direction, . . . or in the opposite quarter of the peninsula from Mount Sephar. The general inference

has been supported by the consentient evidences of the ancient, and the modern names, both of tribes and localities, on this mountain frontier of Nedjd: Zames Mons corresponding with the mountains of Sumama; its chief city, Marata, with Ramah, the last frontier town of the Ishmaelite tribe of Temyn, seated amidst these mountains; and its ancient inhabitants, the Masæmanes, with Saman, and the Beni Shaman, the powerful Ishmaelite tribe, who, according to Burckhardt, in conjunction with the Aenezes, guard the pastures of Nedjd, at the present day, against the periodical intrusions of the Beni Kahtan or Kahtanys.

The obvious inference, that Mount Zames, Shaman, or Sumana (idiomatic forms only of the one name, Masma or Mishma), is the Mesha of Scripture, . . . an inference thus resting on irrefragable proof, that this range has been, in all ages, the northern boundary of the Joktanites or Kahtanys, . . . may be now confirmed by another, and, it is conceived, conclusive consideration: the fact, namely, that the whole habitable face of the country, from Mount Zames in the north-east, to Mount Sabber or Sephar in the south-western angle of the peninsula, was overspread of old, and is overspread to this day, by Joktanite tribes and settlements. Thus, we find

the Katanitæ, or northern Kahtanys, seated on the frontier of Jemama or Karjé, the latter denomination preserving the name in anagram of Jerah, the fourth son of Joktan: a patriarch known over Arabia by the significant title of Abu Yemen, or the father of Yemen; and whose name, accordingly, both in anagram, and undisguised by inversion, can be traced, both in ancient and modern maps, throughout the south of the peninsula, from the Arabian, to the Persian Gulf. The vast province of Karjé extends, diagonally, from the Astan river, to the confines of Hadramáut. Beginning at the Astan, we find the Joktanite name of Hadoram preserved in this neighbourhood, in the classical form of Chatramis, or the land of Chatramis, and in the Arabic denomination, Hadrama, the chief town of the district. South-west of Karjé, and the Katanitæ of Nedjd, the name of Jerah reappears unaltered, only softened by the Bedouin pronunciation into Sherah, the name of a district of Karjé bordering on the territory of Mekka. While the derivation of the name of this district, with that of the province in which it lies, from Jerah the son of Joktan, stands most remarkably confirmed, by the occurrence, in Ptolemy, at opposite extremities, of the *insula Jerachæorum* (now Serene island), on the coast S. W. of

Sherah, and of the *vicus Jerachæorum* (now Djar or Djau), on the Lar or Zare river, due east of Karjé: two ancient denominations, which, at the same time, preserve the patriarchal name in its primitive purity, and accredit the foregoing examples of it, as varied by the vernacular pronunciation, in the modern nomenclature of the intermediate country; which, from the borders of Omân to the coast of Hedjaz, thus appears, from time immemorial, to have borne the name of Jerah; and, by so doing, to authenticate the claim of this Joktanite patriarch to his traditional title among the Arabs of "Father of Yemen."

As we proceed southward, through Karjé into Yemen, each step of our progress brings successively to light a nearly continuous series of Joktanite names and settlements. Thus, Beishe, (the *Sylæum* of Ptolemy, evidently so named after its inhabitants, the Beni *Salem*,) a city and district south of Sherah, and styled by the Arabs "the key of Yemen," is generally known in Arabia to this day, by its primitive name of Baisath Joktan. Again, bordering on the valley of Baisath Joktan or Beishe, to the east and south-east, we recognize, in the Kithebanitæ and Anchitæ of Ptolemy, the Beni Kahtan or Kahtanys, noticed by Burckhardt as the actual

occupants of this tract of country, and as covering with their encampments, for several days' journey, the whole eastern plain. In the opposite direction, or S. W. of Beishe, lies Dahban, also a town of the Beni Kahtan Arabs. As we advance still southward into Yemen, the historical and geographical vestiges of this name and nation increase and multiply, until we find the metropolis of the Sabean kingdom of Yemen, the famous Mareb, described by Abulfeda as the central seat of Kahtan *: a name, as I have before observed, here identified anew with that of Joktan, by the surrounding tribes and provinces of Haulan or Havilah, Hadramáut or Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Diklah, and Uzal, the modern Sanaa. From this last point, the route lies direct into the Katabania of Strabo (*i. e.* the country of the Beni Kahtan), the site of Ptolemy's Saphar metropolis, and Sapharitæ: a mountain region, which under the denomination of Mount Sabber, the learned Niebuhr has unawares shown to be the true Mount Sephar of Moses, by his notices, in his excellent map and memoir of Yemen, (notices, strangely enough, unaccompanied by comment or remark,) among

* مدينة مأرب باليمن سميت باسم بانيها سبا بن يشجب بن يعربه بن قحطان ✡ (Descript. Arab. p. 58.)

other adjoining localities, of the districts and tribes of Beni Jobab, and Beni Jerah. The conjunction of these Joktanite names with that of Mount Sabber or Saphar, can be rationally accounted for, assuredly, but on the one ground, ... that we have here reached the Mosaic term of the settlements of Joktan: "and their dwellings were from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East."

The seats of the Joktanite Arabians, with the sites of Mesha and Sephar, their scriptural boundaries, thus generally verified, the recovery and adjustment of the thirteen tribes included between those boundaries, will be found a comparatively easy task. For, both in the ancient, and in the modern geography of the peninsula, the separate tribes, deriving from the several sons of Joktan, are clearly distinguishable by their respective family names, although popularly confounded together under the common patronymic of Kahtanys, or Beni Kahtan. We shall now, accordingly, address ourselves to this more specific restoration.

While the history of several of those tribes is conspicuously identified with the ancient annals of Arabia, the research of the Greek and Roman geographers has rescued from obscurity, and handed down to us, the names of others, of

whom, apparently, nothing beside their name remains. In questions of this nature, it is obvious, however, that the more prominent examples of restoration should be allowed great weight, in authentication of any that are less prominent. The family of Almodad, Joktan's first-born, with which we are to commence, belongs to the latter class.

Almodad.—The family of this patriarch seems to have been correctly traced by Bochart, in the Almodaei, or Allumaeotæ, a central people of Arabia Felix, noticed by Ptolemy; and whose geographical position can be pretty exactly ascertained, both by the statement of the Alexandrine geographer, and by the nature of the adjoining country. For Ptolemy places his Allumaeotæ under, or south of the Gerræans, or, in other words, of the islands of Bahrein; while the uninhabitable deserts, intervening between Oman and Mekka, will not allow us to carry this people further south than the tropic of Cancer, or to about the twenty-fourth degree of latitude: boundaries more definite than usual for an Arab, and, apparently, a Bedouin tribe; who are confined, again, on the north, by the Bliulæi, a people, according to Ptolemy, between the Allumaeotæ, and the southern side of the Persian Gulf. Their geographical position is itself

strongly corroborative of the evidence supplied by the name, as to the Joktanite origin of this ancient tribe; which thus lay in the heart of the settlements of Joktan, between Ptolemy's Vicus Jerachæorum, on the Zare or Lar river, and the eastern extreme of the great province of Karjé, already identified with the name and family of Jerah.

In comparison with some among his brethren, however, the name of Almodad is obscure; and few, if any, direct vestiges of this first-born of Joktan, or his descendants, are met with in the native history or traditions. This oblivion may be accounted for, not improbably, from the site of the Almodaei of Ptolemy; who, lying in the midst of the wide-spread settlements of Jerah extending themselves from gulf to gulf, if not absorbed, would naturally be confounded with the kindred stock of that peopler of southern Arabia. The conjecture, thus suggested by a first view of the respective localities, derives curious illustration and support from Arabian tradition; which blends together the names, and, we may infer with probability, the families, of Jerah and Almodad, in the most authentic form of record known to the ante-Mahometan Arabs, their tables of genealogy. According to these tables, Ishmael married a daughter of *Modad*, the

Jorhamite (one of the Arabic forms of the proper name Jerah) : a union of the names, at least in perfect harmony with the notion of a previous amalgamation of the tribes descending from Jerah and Almodad.

Sheleph.— Due west of Mount Zames, or in the desert between Kasym and Medina, we clearly recover, in Ptolemy, the name and family of this son of Joktan, in the tribe of the Salapeni, or Beni Salaph, the Greek form of the Hebrew name, Sheleph; which, in like manner, is rendered by Saleth or Saleph, in the Septuagint, and by Saleph, in the Vulgate.

The geographical position of the Salapeni, as defined by Ptolemy, accurately corresponds with that of the powerful Meteyr tribe, described by Burckhardt: both lying alike between Kasym and Medina; the Salapeni north of the Manitæ, as the Meteyr of the Mezeyne, names which will be hereafter also identified with each other; and both being similarly located, adjacent to the great Ishmaelite race of Kedar, or "the mighty tribe of Harb;" from which both, at the same time, are distinct, and most clearly to be distinguished. For the ancient Salapeni are not more clearly proved Joktanites from their name, than are the Meteyr or Emteyr Arabs of the present day, the

actual occupants of the same line of desert, by their enmities and alliances.

Thus Burckhardt contradistinguishes the Meteyr from the Kedarite tribe of Harb, in all its numerous branches, on the one hand; while, on the other hand, he states their confederacy with the Beni Kahtan of Karjé or Yemama (the Katanitæ of Ptolemy), for their mutual defence and maintenance, against the Aenezes, in Nedjd. The hereditary international attachments and antipathies of the Bedouin tribes considered, we might safely infer, from this insulated fact, the Joktanite origin of the Meteyr Arabs; whom we have seen independently identified with a specific Joktanite stock, Saleph and the Salapeni, by their occupancy of the same tract of country, the desert between Kasym and Medina.

With grounds thus reasonable for concluding the ancient Salapeni to be the same tribe with the modern Meteyr, this brief notice of the descendants of Sheleph or Saleph, the second son of Joktan, may be not inappropriately closed, by the accurate Burckhardt's account, in his Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, of this great Bedouin tribe.

"The Meteyr, or, as they are sometimes denominated, Emteyr, are a strong tribe, consisting of twelve hundred horsemen, and from six to

eight thousand matchlocks. They live in Nedjd, chiefly in Kasym, and thence on towards Medinah. They branch off into four principal tribes. 1. The Alowa; 2. the Boráy; 3. El Harabeshe; and 4. El Borsán. Some of the Meteyr are likewise to be found in Mesopotamia. They are all inveterate enemies of the Aenezes."*

"Previous to the Wahaby establishment, the pasturage of Nedjd belonged exclusively to the Aenezes, which I have already mentioned as the largest of all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia. Great numbers of them frequented this territory in spring, and kept off all the other tribes; except the powerful Meteyr, who reside in the desert between Kasym and Medina. These strengthened their party, by an alliance with the Kahtan Arabs; while the Aenezes were assisted by the Beni Shaman. Between these tribes an inveterate hatred subsisted; which, every spring, was the cause of much bloodshed, and checked the commercial intercourse of the Hedjaz."†

Hazarmaveth.—The slight and imperfect notices, in the classical descriptions of Arabia, of the Joktanite families of Almodad and Sheleph, which may be explained, not improbably, by the comparative obscurity of the tribes named after

* Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 233.

† Travels in Arabia, Appendix, vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.

those patriarchs, has been further accounted for by their inland situation; which inhibited free commercial intercourse with the coasts, and, consequently, brought the Almodaei and Salapeni little under the observation of the Greeks and Romans.

That, in the present, and in many similar examples, the latter (the cause assigned by Bochart) is the real explanation, will now appear, from the prominent place, and frequent mention, in classical antiquity, of the descendants of Hazarmaveth, or Hadramáut (the Hebrew and Arabic names being *literally* the same, and differenced only in pronunciation, by the use of the diacritic points). This wealthy and warlike people was seated along the southern coast, in a province which has immemorially borne, and which preserves unaltered to this day, their national patronymic, as written by Moses, in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

While the original name and tribe of this third son of Joktan has thus subsisted unchanged, in all ages, in the famous incense-country of Hadramáut, ... almost every variety of nominal mutation, instanced throughout the present memoir, may be exemplified from the idiomatic changes undergone by the single patronymic, Hazarmaveth, or Hadramáut: which, in the Septuagint version, is

written *Sarmoth*, the first syllable being dropt; by S. Jerome (a well versed orientalist), in the Vulgate, *Asarmoth*, the article being incorporated with the name, or the aspirate omitted, conformably with the dialect of the Nabatheans; by Pliny, Atramitæ, and Chatramotitæ; and by Ptolemy, Adramitæ, Chathramitæ, and Chatramotitæ or Cathramonitæ.

This great tribe of Hadramáut, inhabiting the maritime province of the same name, and conspicuous, from the remotest antiquity, in the annals or traditions of Arabia, derived, as has been already intimated, a twofold celebrity in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans, from their skill in commerce, and from their fame in arms.

With regard to facilities of commercial enterprize, while the neighbourhood of Hadramáut to the famous incense country of the ancients, or the mountain district of Seger, enabled the Adramitæ to dispute or divide this lucrative monopoly with their still more powerful neighbours, the Minæi, . . . their numerous ports along the coast of the Arabian sea, including Cane emporium, and the Syagrian promontory, the two most important stations of ancient commerce, placed at their command, if not under their exclusive control, the rich resources, at the same time, of Africa, and of India. So great, indeed, are the

natural advantages, in a commercial view, of this province, that, notwithstanding the general decay of Arabian commerce, consequent on the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese, the Arabs of Hadramáut still preserve the hereditary spirit of naval enterprize; and continue in our time, as in the age of Pliny, the chief conductors of the remaining intercourse between Arabia and Hindostan.

With respect to their warlike propensities and reputation, we find the people of Hadramáut ranked, by Pliny, on the unexceptionable authority of the Roman commander, Ælius Gallus, as first among the most famed and formidable of the Arab tribes: a character very remarkably illustrated by a passage of Burckhardt, which describes the sea-ports of Hadramáut as the rendezvous of those military adventurers, who, to the close of the eighteenth century, disturbed the repose of India. "The Bekyl and Háshed Arabs of this district serve in the army of the Imam of Sanaa. Many of them go to India; and are preferred, by the native princes there, to any other class of soldiers. Tipoo Saheb had several hundred of them in his service. They generally embark at Shaher, in Hadramáut; and their chief destination, at present, is Guzerat and Cutch."*

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 376. Appendix.

It remains only to observe, that, while the foregoing testimonials abundantly establish the antiquity, wealth, and power of the province and people of Hadramáut, . . . the classical name of the capital, Katabanum, combines with the surrounding Joktanite denominations of Katabania, Beni Kahtan, Sheba, Havilah, Diklah, Uzal, Jobab, and Jerah (tribes and districts nearly enclosing Hadramáut at the present day), to complete the proof, arising from the identity of name, that the Hadramáut of Arabian geography is the Hazarmaveth of Scripture.

JERAH.—The title "Abu Yemen," "Father of Yemen," or Arabia Felix, by which this son of Joktan is universally known in Arabia*, insomuch that it seems nearly to have superseded the proper name, will sanction the expectation, that more than ordinary vestiges of Jerah and his descendants shall be discernible, on due investigation, within the limits assigned by Moses

* أَبُو يَمَن Pater Jemen, *i. e.* Arabiæ Felicis, Jarah fil. Joctan. *Quia Joctanidæ*, de quibus Gen. x., *Arabiam Felicem habitarunt.*—Gol. in voc. أَبٌ.

يَعْرُب بن قَحْطَان est Jarah fil. Joctan. Gen. x. Qui est ابو اليمن Pater populorum Arabiæ Felicis; primus Arabicæ linguæ autor.—Gieuhari, ap. Gol. sub. voc. عَرَب.

for the dwellings of the families of Joktan. The results of our researches on this head of inquiry, it is believed, will be found fully to realize this just and natural anticipation; by proving that Jerah was, in fact no less than in name, the father, or chief source, throughout southern Arabia, of its Joktanite colonization. This important conclusion, already plainly indicated by a general survey of the country peopled by the Joktanites, it shall be now my object to establish more fully by examination of the details.

In order to a correct verification and adjustment of the Arab colonies deriving, apparently, from Jerah, it will be found an essential preliminary to fix in the mind the several undoubted forms, ancient and modern, of this patriarchal name: which, in the LXX, is written Ἰαράχ (*Jarach*); by S. Jerome, *Jare;* by the modern Arabs, *Jerhä* or *Serhä* (pronounced Jer*chä*, Ser*chä*); and also, as shall presently be shown, *Sherah* or *Sheradje*, *Serene* or *Zohran*.

The first of these forms of the name, or the Jarach of the Septuagint version, it must now be observed, is *literally* the same with the Jeraeh or Jarach of Ptolemy; a name twice registered by this geographer, in his Insula Jerachæorum, on the Arabian Gulf, S. of Djedda, and in his Vicus Jerachæorum, on the Lar or Zar river, in the

vicinity of the Persian Gulf; a town and island bearing in common this proper name, although separated from each other by a space of 15°, or more than one thousand geographical miles. Jerach or Jarach, it follows, is the regular Greek form for the Hebrew name Jerah; and the agreement of the Alexandrine geographer with the Alexandrine translators of the Old Testament, in the spelling of that name, may be fairly adduced as conclusive in favour of the fine conjecture of Bochart; who, unaided by this, or any collateral proofs, on the ground solely of the resemblance of the names, restored Ptolemy's νῆσος Ἱεράχων, previously rendered *insula accipitrum*, or "the Isle of Hawks," to its patriarchal origin, *insula Jerachæorum*, or "the island of the Beni Jerah." The absurdity, indeed, of treating Ptolemy's νῆσος Ἱεράχων otherwise than as a proper name, might, one would think, have stood exposed and corrected by the recurrence of the denomination in his Ἱεράχων κώμη. An *isle of Hawks*, we can understand; but a *town of Hawks* is unintelligible: while, that so peculiar a nomenclature should occur in *two* examples is altogether unlikely; and, taken alone, bespeaks the soundness of Bochart's restoration of both local names to their proper origin, the scriptural patronymic.

Its next variety, *Jare*, the form by which S.

Jerome, in the Vulgate, renders the proper name Jerah, seems obviously adopted by this early Orientalist from the Arabic *Djâr*, a favourite appellation of towns and localities in Hedjaz and Omán; and which is proved to be identical with Jerah, by the fact, that Ptolemy's Vicus Jerachæorum is denominated Djâr, by the Arabs of Omán at the present day, and so spelt, accordingly, in the modern geography of the peninsula.

"Beni Jerhä or Serhä," a tribe and district of Yemen, placed by M. Niebuhr about one hundred miles N.N.W. of Aden, or in the heart of the ancient Katabania, is a third variety of Jerah; which, while it preserves the scriptural name unabridged, in the modern geography of the country, serves, at the same time, to establish the fact of its being pronounced and written, indifferently, with an initial *J* or *S*, *J*erah, or *S*erah, in the Arabic idiom. This ascertained variation identifies with the name and family of Jerah, the province of Sherah, situated between Hedjaz and Nedjd, E.N.E. of Mekka and Tayf; a district surrounded by the settlements of Joktan, and inhabited by an apparently Joktanite tribe, the Mal-Angitæ, the Beni Lam, or Lam-Kahtanys of Ptolemy.

The transition from Jerah or Serah, to Serene or Zohran, is the effect merely of idiomatic change

by nunnation; which, from the spoken, has passed into the written language. That the modern names of localities, Serene, Serrain, and Zohran, are, in point of fact, the same with the scriptural proper name Jerah, admits, further, of direct and easy proof: since, from the geographical position it is clear, that Ptolemy's Insula Jerachæorum, or Isle of the Beni Jerah, is that now named Serene Island; an island lying directly opposite to the district of Serene or Zohran, on the coast of Hedjaz, in latitude 21°, and inhabited by a tribe of the same name.

The etymological fact thus established, that the Jarach and Jare of the LXX and Vulgate, with the modern Arabic denominations, Jerhä or Serhä, Sherah, Djâr, Serene, Zohran, are only so many different idiomatic forms, or pronunciations, of the patriarchal patronymic Jerah, . . . we may now proceed, with the firmness of a reliance grounded on ascertained facts, to trace, in the ancient and modern geography of Arabia, the vestiges still remaining of those wide-spread colonies, which establish the claim of this Joktanite patriarch to his Arabic title of "Father of Yemen."

One very marked variety of the name of Jerah remains only to be noticed, as a further preliminary to the proposed investigation: namely,

the city of *Sarcoa*, placed by Ptolemy on the Persian Gulf, near the mouth of his Lar fluvius, or the Zar river; the river on which he has placed, also, his Vicus Jerachæorum. For the *Sarcoa* of Ptolemy is the *Sercha* of Niebuhr; a name, as we learn from this exact inquirer, equivalent, among the modern Arabs, to Jerhä or Jerah. But the Sarcoa of Ptolemy was, from the joint evidence of name and site, the seat of a tribe, named by Pliny Zurachi, and placed by him in this district: an identification, which proves the antiquity of one of the idiomatic changes of the name of Jerah, that of *S* to *Z*, already adverted to in the example of *S*erene and *Z*ohran. From Sarcoa, and its vicinity, we may set out with advantage.

Commencing at this extreme point, on the eastern side of the ancient Arabia Felix, the settlements of Jerah may be not unaptly described, as included within the vast triangle, formed by the mouth of the Zar river, on the Persian Gulf, the town of Djâr (the Zaaram reg. of Ptolemy), on the coast of Hedjaz, twenty English miles south of Yembo, and the district of Beni Jerah (part of the ancient Katabania), or the south-western angle of the peninsula, terminating at the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. Throughout this immense region, numerous and clear vestiges of

the settlements of Jerah may be traced, successively, in the descriptions of Arabia Felix by the Greeks and Romans; in the histories and traditions of the Arabs themselves; and in the existing localities and denominations of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Sarcoa, and the Zar river, the number and variety of those vestiges may well engage our earliest attention. The Sarcoa of Ptolemy, being the same name and site with the Sercha or Jercha of Niebuhr, its identity with Jerah needs no further confirmation. This ancient city still subsists, in the town of Seer or Zar, on the river, and in a district, of the same name. Again, that the modern Zar river, is the Lar fluvius of Ptolemy, appears, both from the geographical position, and from the incidental evidence of Pliny. For the Lar of Ptolemy is denominated, by the Roman geographer, flumen *Canis;* in other words, Zar river, . . . Zar*, or Zir, being, in the Arabic, one of the many names for a dog. But it is on this river, whose name, with that of its port, stands thus independently identified with that of Jerah, that Ptolemy places his Vicus Jerachæorum: a name which concentrates into one point the less direct evidences of the surrounding denominations; reducing, alike,

* زِرٌ, *Canis venaticus.* — Cf. Gol. in voc.

the classical Lar and Sarcoa*, the modern Zar and Seer, together with Djâr (the present Arabic name of the Vicus Jerachæorum itself), to the one patriarchal origin, . . . the river, or district, or city, of Jerah.

The Zurachi, a people mentioned by Pliny as inhabiting this coast, and Sharedje or Zar island, at the mouth of the river Zar, may be added, to complete the vestiges of Jerah in this quarter, While the decisive fact, that the tract of country in question was the seat of a Joktanite colony, is ascertained to a demonstration by a separate proof from Ptolemy; who peoples the adjoining mountains, in which the Zar river has its source, with the Kottabani, or Beni Kahtan. The inference is obvious, and irresistible: the Vicus Jerachæorum, now Djâr, lay in the midst of a great Joktanite settlement, of which, apparently, it was the capital: its inhabitants, therefore, to a certainty, and most probably those, also, of the entire district, were Joktanites of the tribe of Jerah.

The Joktanite colony next discernible, in the classical geography of Arabia, and actually existing, in the same position, at the present day, appears, from internal marks hereafter to be

* Ptolemy's *Lar* is merely a literal errour for *Zar fluvius*: it is corrected by the name of an adjoining locality, his *Sarcoa civitas*.

noticed, to have been also a settlement of Jerah, or rather an encampment of the Bedouins of this great tribe. The Katanitæ, and Malangitæ of Ptolemy, are the Arabs here in question: a Bedouin race, seated centrally, between his Insula, and his Vicus, Jerachæorum; on the northern frontier of the great inland province of Karjé. That the Katanitæ, and Mal-Angitæ, or Kahtanys of the tribe of Lam, (the same, apparently, with the Beni Lam, mentioned by D'Anville and Burckhardt,) were branches of the prolific stock of Jerah, may be inferred, at least with high probability, from the following considerations: . . . that Karjé, the name of this whole region generally, and peculiarly that of the district occupied by the Katanitæ, is itself, simply, an anagrammatic form of Jerah; that the name of Jerah, as will presently appear, can be traced in every part of this province of central Arabia, from the frontiers of Nedjd, to the confines of Hadramáut; and that, immediately adjoining the seats of the Katanitæ, in a western direction, occurs the district of Sherah or Jerah, inhabited by the Beni Lam, a Joktanite tribe still to be met with, also, both in Karjé and Nedjd.

The origin of the people occupying Sherah seems sufficiently attested by the name; the

primitive usage of naming the country from its first colonists being almost universal among the Arabs. But the name of Sherah becomes identified with that of the Jerah of Genesis, by yet more conclusive evidence; since this province lies immediately adjacent to the territory of Mekka, the central seat, according to universal Arabian history and tradition, of the kingdom of Jorham, and the Jorhamites; the most popular of the many forms, in which the name of the father of Yemen is written, or pronounced, in the Arabic.

The territory of Mekka, as might naturally be expected under these circumstances, abounds with land-marks, ancient and modern, of this great Joktanite family and name. Thus we very plainly recover the Jorham and Jorhamites of the Mahometan writers, and of far more ancient national tradition, in the *Charmæi* of Pliny, on the one hand, and in the *Zaaram reg.* of Ptolemy, on the other, or Djâr, on the Hedjaz coast: while the testimony universally and immemorially borne, by the Arabs themselves, to the identity of their Jorham with Jerah the son of Joktan, is, at this locality, signally illustrated, and historically confirmed, by the occurrence, in Ptolemy, of the unaltered scriptural name, in an example to which we have had so frequent reason to refer,

his Insula Jerachæorum, or Island of the Beni Jerah; an island lying off the coast, in this very quarter of Hedjaz.

But Ptolemy's Insula Jerachæorum, under the present modification of the name, Serene Island, at once identifies with Jerah the opposite coast, and its inhabitants, the Doreni of the Alexandrine geographer; or the mountain district and tribe of Serene or Zohran.

While the memory of Jerah is thus preserved, in these parts, by island, mountain, tribe, and town, all bearing the same classical and modern, and all, it may be inferred by natural consequence, having originally borne the one patriarchal name, . . . that of his father Joktan comes in as a concluding circumstance, to strengthen the whole of these local evidences, in the station, or watering-place of *Abu Jok;* a name noticed by Niebuhr, without any reference to its patriarchal origin. Abu Jok is situated on the coast, north of Serene Island, and at the northern termination of the Djebel Serene.

It is needless further to direct the attention of Orientalists to the detail of proofs, which identify the local denomination Serene with the proper name Jerah. But it may be well to remind the general reader, on the authority of Niebuhr, that Jerah, in its occurrence as the name of a district

of Yemen, is written and pronounced, by the modern Arabs, indifferently, *J*erhä, and *S*erhä; and that Serhä, and Serene or Serrain, are, in fact, the same name, the final *n* being added by nunnation, and being referable to the spoken, rather than to the written, language.

Due east of the province of Zohran or Serene, and due south of that of Sherah, occurs another Joktanite district, the Sheihkdom of Kahtan: being one of a continuous series of the settlements of this Shemitic stock, terminated only by the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and the Indian ocean. Following this line of settlements southward, by Baisath Joktan, or Beishe, and the Kithebanitæ or Beni Kahtan of Ptolemy and Burckhardt, the name of the Father of Yemen reappears, in that of Hud-Jerah, a town on the mountain chain, between Beishe and Mâreb; and again, further south, in that of another town of the same mountains, Shehra, seated at the head of a portion of that chain, which seems equally denominated after Jerah, the district of Djof er Szyrrhan or Serrain. The common origin of the whole of these denominations, plainly indicated by the fact of their real identity amidst their idiomatic variations, is corroborated, we observe, in conclusion, not only by the repeated occurrence of the name of Joktan, the founder of the

race, but of the names of others of his sons, who have bestowed their names on many of the adjoining districts.

From Shehra, and Djof er Szyrrhan, the course of inquiry conducts us, through districts retaining to this day the names of Jobab, Havilah, Uzal, and Sheba, to the tribe and district of Beni Jerah or Serah, with its chief town Jerim, in the south-western angle of the peninsula, and the heart of the classical Katabania: a union of local denominations, demonstrating the existence in these parts (the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Sephar, and the Sapharitæ*) of a primeval Joktanite colonization; and confirming, at the same time, that universal consent of Arabian tradition, which assigns to Jerah, in particular, the character of father, or founder, of the Joktanite kingdom of Yemen.

Vestiges of the settlements of this patriarch have been, thus far, circumstantially traced, in nearly unbroken succession, both in the ancient and modern geography of central and southern

* "A une demie journée au sud-ouest de *Jerim*, et à l'est du mont de Sumâra, l'on trouve encore quelques ruines de la ville de *Saphar*, si célèbre au temps des rois Hamjâres. Pour le moins sont-ce les ruines de *Dhafar*, dont parlent le Scherif Eddris et Abulfeda."—Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 206.

"*Aphar* est incontestablement *Dhafar* [Saphar], au côté oriental de mont Sumâra, près de *Jerim*."—Ib. p. 195. note.

Arabia, from the Vicus Jerachæorum of Ptolemy, or the town of Djâr, on the Djâr river, in Oman, to his Insula Jerachæorum, or Serene Island, in the Arabian Gulf; and thence, again, southward, to the district of Beni Jerah or Serah, at the foot of Mount Sabber, or Sephar. Yet, numerous and wide-spread as are its colonies already enumerated, it remains to be shown, that the vestiges of this prolific and powerful race by no means terminate here. On the contrary, the whole foregoing evidences serve to identify with the family of this son of Joktan, the chief of the four great nations, mentioned, by the ancients, as the inhabitants of Arabia Felix: namely, the Minæi; a people, illustrious by their fame in classical antiquity, where we find them celebrated, alike, in the pages of Dionysius and Strabo, of Ptolemy and Pliny; and extending inland, as definitely appears on comparison of the accounts of these geographers, from the neighbourhood of Mekka, and of Carman Regium, or Karn al Manzil, their metropolis, eastward, towards Gerra, on the Persian Gulf, and southward, to the confines of Hadramáut, and to the incense mountains of Seger. The verification of the geographical site and boundaries of the Minæi properly belongs to the classical branch of the subject. Suffice it, at present, to remark, that the tract of country

assigned by the ancients, with one consent, to this great commercial people, is apparently conterminous with the vast region of Karjé, a province already described as lying, in an oblique direction, between Nedjd and Yemen. The circumstances which unite to identify the ruling people of this province, or the Minæi of classical antiquity, with the stock of Jerah, shall now be briefly stated.

(1.) As already observed, the Arabic name Kerjé, or Karjé, is itself only an anagrammatic inversion of Jerah, and one of the most usual transpositions of Arabic proper names. (2.) From the joint testimonies of Ptolemy and Burckhardt, it is certain, that the northern parts of this province have been always inhabited by a Joktanite race, the Katanitæ or Kahtanys. (3.) That these Bedouins were Joktanites of the tribe of Jerah, may justly be inferred, from the constant occurrence and recurrence of the name of Jerah, along this entire frontier, from the borders of Omán, to the coast south of Mekka. (4.) Along the great southern limb of Karjé, or the country bordering the mountain chain between Tayf and Hadramáut on the east, not only do we recover the generic patronymic of Joktan, in the Sheihkdom of Kahtan, the Kithebanitæ and Gebanitæ of Ptolemy and Pliny, or the Beni Kahtan of Abulfeda and

Burckhardt; but the name of Jerah, in particular, is, throughout this tract, clearly legible, in those of Sherah, Shehra, Szyrrhan, &c., only modulated by the softer pronunciation of the Bedouin tribes. (5.) The Larendani, or Garendani, a people of the south of Arabia mentioned by Pliny, and placed by this most accurate of the ancient geographers in juxtaposition with the Katabani or Gebanitæ, appear, from the joint evidence of the name, and of the position assigned them, to be the people or tribe of Karjé or Jerah. For the example of the *L*ar or *Z*ar river is a conclusive precedent, for the idiomatic interchange of initials; and a very slight literal correction, *Gerahbani* for *Garendani*, is alone required, to convert Larendani or Garendani, into Beni Jerah: the variations Larendani, Garendani, Gerahbani, being in exact conformity with those of Lar, Zar, Djâr, all three varying forms of the one name, and all three proved identical with Jerah, by the denomination *Vicus Jerachæorum*, by which Ptolemy has designated the last of these examples, or the town of Djâr or Osjan. (6.) But the identification of the Larendani or Garendani of Pliny with the province and people of Karjé, does not depend upon the presumed identity of the names: it can be established from a further, and incidental statement of the same author, which shows the capital of

his Larendani to be the same with the chief town of Karjé at the present day. "The Larendani, Catabani, and Gebanitæ," he observes in the passage under consideration, "possess many towns: but their chief cities are, Nagia, and Tamna."* Now, it is agreed on all hands, that Pliny's Catabani and Gebanitæ are the same people; and it is certain, further, that Tamna or Thumna was their metropolis. Nagia, consequently, must have been (as appears, indeed, from the order of its occurrence in the sentence) the capital of their neighbours, the Larendani. The reader has only to refer to M. d'Anville's map of Arabia, or to the classical map accompanying the present work, for demonstrative proof of this fair presumption. He will there find the town, or city, of Nagiah, still retaining its ancient name; and seated, where Pliny has placed it, in the neigbbourhood of the Kahtan Arabs, and in the heart of the province of Karjé. It may be pronounced unquestionable, therefore, Nagia or Nagiah being a chief city both of Karjé and of the Larendani, that province and people are mutually identified.† It may be

* Nat. Hist. lib. vi. § 32.

† It may be satisfactory to the reader to learn, that the previous identification of the people styled Larendani with the inhabitants of Karjé, from the correspondence only of the names, had been completed and inserted in the text, before the author became himself aware of the conclusive proof, arising from the site of Nagia, their capital; which he was

added, as a circumstance confirmative of this proof, that the site of Tamna, well ascertained by its distance of sixty-five days' caravan, or camel, journey, from Gaza, shows, by its vicinity to Nagiah, and its position in the country of Burckhardt's Beni Kahtan of the great plain, east of the Nedjd ul Yemen mountains, that these are the Catabani meant by Pliny; and the inimitable accuracy, at the same time, of the Roman geographer, when he represents his Catabani and Larendani to be *adjoining* Arab tribes.

Karjé and the Garendani, the province and its people, being thus identified together, and both names again, with the Jerachæi of Ptolemy, or the Jerah of Scripture, ... we come, in the last place, to the proof, that the great Arab race, known patronymically under these appellatives, is the same with the famous nation of Arabia Felix, denominated by the ancients, perhaps territorially, Minæi.

The Minæi, according to all the ancient authorities, certainly extended over the vast inland region of Karjé, which has been now assigned as the seat of the settlements of Jerah: for, while

subsequently led to perceive, by accidental reference to the previously-engraved classical map. This is one among many examples of the accuracy with which geographical conclusions may be drawn from the ancient nomenclature, with an exact attention to the statements of the classic writers.

their capital (the Carman reg. of Ptolemy, or Karn-al-Manzil) lay in the neighbourhood of Mekka, their territory stretched southward, to the borders of Hadramáut, and eastward, apparently, to the the confines of Omán.

Such being the geographical position of the Minæi, and site of their metropolis, the origin of the name itself may be traced, with no low probability, to that of a celebrated locality of their northern frontier, in the near neighbourhood of Carman reg., . . . Wady *Mina*, the sacred valley of Mahometan superstition; and also the scene of the heathen rites of ante-Mahometan Arabia. If this conjecture be well founded, (and it is in perfect accordance with a known and common usage of the Arabs, in every age,) the Minæi must have had, also, a national appellative, apart from their territorial. And here, laying aside conjecture, and proceeding to the historical facts, we quickly arrive at proof that it was even so. For we find Carman reg., the Minæan metropolis according to Ptolemy, peopled by Pliny with the *Charmæi*, whom this geographer expressly styles a tribe of the *Minæi*.* But Pliny's *Charmæi* are evidently the same name and race with the *Jorhamites*, or Beni *Jorham*, of Arabian

* "*Minæi*: . . . quorum *Charmæi*: oppidum xiv. mill. pass."—Lib. vi. § 32.

history; the tribe which, acccording to the universal consent of the national traditions, anciently inhabited Mekka and its vicinity; Jorham being, in this instance, the Arabic form, or pronunciation, of the name of the father of this race, the Joktanite Jerah. As the name Charmæi, or Jorhamites, thus clearly belonged to this people as their national appellative, so that of Minæi would very naturally be assumed as a territorial denomination, by the sovereigns of Mekka, the guardians of the Caaba, and the superintendents of the idolatrous sacrifices in the valley of *Mina**: such, according to universal Arab tradition, was the rank and office of the ancient Jorhamites, until supplanted in it by their successors, the descendants of Ishmael. But, whatever the origin of their double appellation, the Charmæi being, at the same time, Minæi and Jorhamites, it follows, that, at least, the inhabitants of the Minæan capital, Carman, or Karn-al-Manzil (still a large town, about fifty miles S. E. of Mekka, towards Tayf,) were Joktanites of the tribe of Jerah. But the inference extends to the whole circumjacent country, which the Arabs themselves affirm to have been anciently occupied by the Jorhamites†,

* The *Koreisch* supply a precedent in point, in this very neighbourhood; their name being, in like manner, *territorial*. — See Golius in voc.

† "Joctano, seu Kahtâno, ex eorum sententia, filii duo, يعرب *Yaarab*,

and which Pliny correspondingly describes as peopled by the Charmæi: while the identity of their Jorham with the Jerah of Moses, always maintained by the native authorities, is independently corroborated by Ptolemy; who places the Insula Jerachæorun off this very part of the coast of Hedjaz.

Mariaba Baramalacum, the Maraba or Baraba metropolis of Ptolemy, the same with the modern Taraba, is specified by Pliny as another chief town of the Minæi. The position of Taraba, nearly eighty miles east of Tayf, in the direction of Sherah and Karjé, indicates the probable connection of the Minæi, or Jorhamites of Mekka and its neighbourhood, with both these provinces: a probability, in the instance of Karjé, advanced into certainty, by the ascertained diffusion of this commercial people inland, as far as Hadramáut.† But not only did the Minæi extend over Khariatha or Karjé, in a southern direction, to the confines of the Adramitæ, . . . Pliny further acquaints us, that they reached to the famous incense country, or the mountain district of Shehr; the single outlet from which (the pass behind Dumgoal or

seu *Jareb*, qui Arabum Yamanensium pater, جرهم *Jorham*, qui *Hejazensium*." — Poc. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 41. Compare Sale, Prelim. Diss. pp. 15, 16.

Doan) was in their possession *, and this lucrative commerce, consequently, at their command. Shehr, Shehra, or Seger, however, as has been elsewhere noticed, is only one of the various idiomatic forms, or pronunciations, of the patriarchal patronymic Jerah; which thus reappears, in final connection with the province of Karjé or Jerah, and its inhabitants the Minæi or Garendani, in the modern name of the central district of the southern coast.

With the ancient Vicus Jerachæorum, and Insula Jerachæorum, to mark the opposite extremes of his northern frontier; with the modern districts of Shehr, and Beni Jerhä or Sherhä, to define his limits on the south; and with the foregoing identification of the illustrious nation of the Minæi, on the one hand, with the Charmæi or Jorhamites, and, on the other, with the inhabitants of the mediterranean province of Karjé; enough, it is conceived, has been done under this important head, not only to verify and illustrate the settlements of Jerah, but, also, fully to authenticate the right of this Joktanite patriarch to his Arabic title of ABU YEMEN.†

* "Attingunt et Minæi, pagus alius, per quos evehitur [thus] uno tramite angusto."—Lib. xii. § 30.

† The scriptural proper name *Jerah*, was known, in the time of Mahomet, as that of a people and province of Arabia For one of the com-

Hadoram.—We have seen the name and race of Hazarmaveth, or, as pronounced without the points, Hadramáut, *literally* preserved, in the province and tribe of Hadramáut; the great central district of the southern coast of Arabia, and the seat of the ancient Adramitæ, Cathramitæ, or Cathramotitæ.

We come now to trace the distinct, yet similar name and family of Hadoram*; the fifth, in order of seniority, of the sons of Joktan or Kahtan. In confirmation of the just, though hitherto unverified conjecture of Bochart, I hope satisfactorily to show, that, among other settlements of his posterity, this patriarch gave name to the country of Chatramis, or Dar-Charamatah, on the eastern side of the peninsula; a region accurately defined by Dionysius, and his commentator Eustathius, as adjacent, on the south, to Chaldamis or Havilah, and as opposite to the coast of Persia. As Chaldamis is identical with Bahrein or Hagar, this description of Chatramis, the adjoining province southward, corresponds most accurately with the position of Omân. Accordingly, Mr. Gibbon, in his account of these

panions of the Caliph Omar was distinguished by the name of "Husein Ibn Isa *el Jerráhy*."—See Robinson's Palestine, vol. i. p. 355.

* This patriarchal name reappears in the time of David; who received a visit of congratulation, on his success against the Syrians, from *Hadoram*, the son of Toi, king of Hamath.—See 1 Chron. xviii. 10.

modern provinces, unconsciously verifies the site of the Chatramis of the Periegesis, when he observes, "the maritime districts of Bahrein and Omán are opposite to the realm of Persia." The ancient Chatramis, therefore, must be sought in Omán; where, accordingly, we find, at the same time, clear vestiges of the classical name, and marks clearer still of its identity with the scriptural proper name, Hadoram.

From the general statement of Dionysius, which places Chatramis immediately south of his Chaulasii and Agræi, it is obvious, that the northern bounds of this country must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Astan river; whose banks are occupied, at the present day, by the Beni Khaled, answering to the Chaulasii, and by the Ishmaelite tribes of Hagar or Bahrein, corresponding with the Agræi, of the Periegesis. Now, in this immediate neighbourhood, south of the Astan, we recover the classical Chatramis, and, still more clearly, the scriptural Hadoram, in the town of Hadrama: while, proceeding still in a southern direction, the district in which Hadrama is seated retains further traces, both of the classical, and of the patriarchal name, in the Dacharæmoizæ of Ptolemy, and the Darkaramatah of Abulfeda; a people and district clearly identified, by the geographical position, with Ha-

drama; and a similarity of nomenclature easily reconducting us to the primitive scriptural denomination, . . . Dacharæmoizæ, Darkaramatah, Chatramis, Hadrama, leading us back, through ordinary Arabic inflections, to Hadoram.

From Hadrama, traversing the inland border of Omán, to the westward of its great Cushite settlements, and passing, almost in a continuous line, through the Joktanite colonies of Vicus Jerachæorum, and the Kottabani, the name of Hadoram reappears, apparently, in the Dora and Darræ of Pliny, or the modern town and tribe of Dahra.*

At this last point, on the south-eastern angle of the peninsula, commences that happy conjectural verification of Bochart, already alluded to, the proof of which, it is hoped, may now be completed. This great scholar discovered the

* This contraction of *Hadoram* can be well illustrated from Professor Robinson's Palestine, where we meet a similar restoration of a similar name: "*Dúra*. . . . There is little reason to doubt its being the *Adoraim* of the Old Testament, enumerated along with Hebron and Maresha, as one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam. Under the name *Adora* it is mentioned in the Apocrypha, and also often by Josephus; who usually connects the two places, Adora and Maressa, as cities of the later Idumea. After Josephus, there seems to be no mention of the place, either by Eusebius, or Jerome, or any other writer. *Yet the name is quite decisive.* The dropping of the first feeble letter is not uncommon; and appears also to have been partially current, in this name, even in the days of Josephus; in whose writings we find it, in several instances, in the form *Dora*."— Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. iii. pp. 4, 5.

tribe of Hadoram * in the Drimati, a people of Omán mentioned by Pliny; and detected the name of this patriarch, unabbreviated, though disguised by idiomatic inversion, in the Korodamum promontorium of Ptolemy (the anagram of Hadoramum), . . . the long and low headland, which terminates the peninsular triangle, at its south-eastern extremity. The admirable correctness of both inferences is established, by two decisive circumstances; of which one, unaccountably, escaped the sagacious eye of Bochart; while the other was necessarily beyond his reach, being among the results of the late survey of this coast, by the expedition under the orders of Commodore Owen. The reader, I may confidently anticipate, will partake the satisfaction I have myself experienced, from seeing the discoveries of the closet elucidated and confirmed, by the results of actual observation.

(1.) The fact left unnoticed by Bochart, in his happy restoration of the Korodamum promontorium of Ptolemy, by correction of the anagram, to Hadoram, is simply this, that this promontory now actually bears the name of Hadoram, under

* In the first age of the Hejra, this tribe was extant in Arabia, under its scriptural name. It emigrated into Syria, where doubtless it still exists. الحَضَارِمَة Gens, quæ, cum sub Muhammedicæ sectæ initium ab ea defecisset, in Syria fixit sedem. Gi. ap. Gol.

an ordinary abbreviation of the Arabic, in its modern appellation of Ras al HAD.*

(2.) But if Bochart's restoration be materially strengthened, by the present name of this locality, adopted, in our modern charts, from the Arabs themselves, ... it receives further, and, apparently, conclusive confirmation, from the nomenclature which remains to be mentioned; a nomenclature which, at the same time, indicates the site of Pliny's Drimati, and proves, with Bochart, this name to be another contraction of that of Hadoram. On doubling the Korodamum promontorium, or Ras al Had, voyaging towards the Persian Gulf, there occurs a deep bay or inlet, formed and sheltered by this headland, and thus inseparably identified with it. Commodore Owen's survey first gave the correct form of this bay, accompanied by what is more important for our present object, its Arabic name, Bunder Djuram or Doram, or the Bay of Doram, the softer form being only a peculiarity of the Bedouin pronunciation. But, while the idiomatic contraction, Djuram or *Doram*, gives the seat of the Drimati, the juxtaposition of this contracted denomination with that of Ras al *Had* restores

* Similar abbreviations are of familiar use among the Arabs: thus we have *Abu Jok*, for *Abu Joktan*, and *Gebel al Tar* (Gibraltar), for *Gebel al Tarik*.

in full the original patriarchal name of *Hadoram*; which, indirectly preserved in the inverted form Korodamum, and the abridged form Drimati*, by the classic geographers, exists, directly and perfectly, in its original form, to this day, in the united names of the headland, Ras al *Had*, and of its bay, Bunder *Doram*.

From this extreme point of Omán, we have already seen the name and settlements of Hadoram branching inland, in a north-western direction, to Hadrama, in the neighbourhood of the Astan river. It remains only to trace the probable vestiges of this son of Joktan along the southern coast, in the direction of Hadramáut and Yemen. In this direction, the land of *Gad*, a district adjoining Omán, and separated from Hadramáut by the country of Mahra, and the mountains of Shehr, seems, from the joint evidence of site and name, like Ras-al-Had, to have derived its appellation from Hadoram: whose name may be further traced, with more probability than the learned Niebuhr has laid claim to for his conjecture, to the centre of the ancient Katabania, the great rendezvous of so many Joktanite tribes; where we remark the town of

* This form of the name is still in existence on the northern confines of Omán. Captain Sadleir speaks of "the *Dreeman* tribe, in the desert south of Ul Ahsa."— MS. Journal.

Doram, seated amidst tribes and districts, all bearing the names of brethren of this patriarch.

UZAL.—The memories of Hazarmaveth, Jerah, and Hadoram, have been preserved, in great tribes, and extensive provinces, of southern Arabia, still called after their names. That of Uzal, if less widely diffused, is not less surely transmitted, in the ancient (and, among the Jews of Yemen, the actual) name of one of the oldest cities in the world, Sanaa, or Sabe reg., the Joktanite capital of Katabania or Yemen.

Ozal or Uzal, it is generally admitted, was the primitive designation of the city now called Sanaa, and most probably, therefore, of the country surrounding it. The fact of this nomenclature is sufficiently vouched, by the circumstance mentioned by Bochart and others, that, among the Jews settled from time immemorial at Sanaa, it is known, at the present day, only by the name of Uzal.*

But the Joktanite patriarch, who thus gave name to the metropolis, must, according to every

* "Il y a assez d'apparence, que *Sanà* est l'ancien *Usal*, comme d'autres l'ont déjà remarqué; car un Mahométan, à qui je demandai les noms des villes situées entre Loheia, sa patrie, et Sanà, nomma *Ösér* le village des Juifs qui est auprès de *Sanà*; et un autre Mahométan Indien, qui avoit demeuré longtemps dans l'Yemen, croyoit pouvoir assurer, que l'ancien nom de Sanà étoit *Usal*. Un Juif de Taas ne connoissoit pas le nom d'Usal; mais c'étoit un ouvrier, et non un Rabbin. J'oubliai de m'en informer chez les Juifs de Sanà."—Niebuhr, Description de l'Arab. tom. iii. p. 252.

law of probability, have been one of the chief peoplers of the classical Katabania, or country of the Katabeni. That Uzal was not the sole colonizer of this once celebrated kingdom, appears plainly from M. Niebuhr's map of Yemen; where we observe, in this particular quarter, unquestionable vestiges of other sons of Joktan, in the occurrence of tribes and districts now bearing their names.

The name of Uzal, however, as might be expected, and as Bochart has observed, apparently recurs in other examples. The Ocelis of Ptolemy, or Ocila of Pliny, a port of the Gebanitæ near the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, which still retains its ancient name, with the omission only of the initial letter, in the modern name of Cella, has been referred by this eminent writer, with good probability, for its origin to Uzal. Another town of the Gebanitæ, the emporium Ausara, in the region of incense, is conceived by the same author to have been, also, originally named after Uzal: the interchange of the letters *l* and *r* being no unusual variety, in the flexible nomenclature of the Arabs. The name of Ausara still exists, in that of Ras al Sair, on the coast of Seger.

Ozal or Uzal having been proved the original name of Sanaa, by the traditional nomenclature of the Jews of that city, the author of Phaleg

proceeds to corroborate this evidence by what he, not improperly, conceives a correcter version and application of a passage, in the memorable prophecy of Ezekiel against Tyre. Ezek. xxvii. 19, he would render thus:...

> "Dan, also, and Javan *from Uzal*, occupied in thy fairs;
> Bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market."

By "Dan," our author understands, merchants in the neighbourhood of Tyre; and by "Javan from Uzal," merchants from a far country, in other words, Arab traders from the neighbourhood of Sanaa. The version and application seem both well borne out: for Giggeius mentions Javan as a town of Yemen, probably the same with the Deiban, or the Deifan, of Niebuhr, both in the territory of the Imám of Sanaa; and the rendering of the Hebrew text, "from Uzal," is supported by the LXX, who render it, "from Asel," and by Aquila, who gives "from Uzal," the very version adopted by Bochart.

The collateral proof, arising from the articles of traffic specified in this text, and from the correct appropriation of those articles, respectively, to Dan and Uzal, by which the author of the Sacred Geography would further support the foregoing reading, is far stronger than he could possibly have been aware of; since it rests upon a law of the Hebrew language, in his time wholly

unknown to European scholars, but in ours fully developed and established, in the Prælections of Bishop Lowth on the Poetry of the Hebrews, and in the Sacred Literature of Bishop Jebb.

> "Dan also, and Javan from Uzal, occupied in thy fairs;
> Bright iron, . . . cassia, and calamus, . . . were in thy market."

The Danites, observes Bochart, importing iron to Tyre; and the men of Javan, cassia, and calamus. Nothing can be juster than the observation. The distinct companies of merchants, indicate and require distinct classes of merchandize. The Danites, therefore, are most justly distinguished, as the dealers in metal; and the men of Javan, as the dealers in aromatics. This distribution of the passage, however, deduced by Bochart solely from consideration of the natural order and sense of the composition, is clearly and independently established, by the now ascertained laws of Hebrew parallelism. For the verse is a bimembral couplet; each member of the first line having its corresponding, or parallel, member in the second.

It follows, in conclusion, that the Javan of Ezekiel, *the country of aromatics*, must be, not the Grecian, but the Arabian, Javan: an inference confirming, on wholly independent grounds, the rendering of the LXX and of Aquila, "Javan from Uzal;" and strongly corroborative, at the

same time, of the authority and antiquity of that Jewish tradition, which keeps alive in Yemen, to this day, the memory of Uzal, in the received name, among the native Jews, of the ancient city of Sanaa.

Diklah. — In the history of nations, as in the genealogy of families, we must be prepared to find some branches conspicuous, and other branches obscure. The tribe of Diklah would appear to fall under the latter description; and, like Benjamin in Judah, to have merged in those of his more fortunate brethren. Without having recourse, however, to the weak expedient, occasionally resorted to by Bochart . . . his fanciful etymologies. . . vestiges of this Joktanite name and family seem clearly discernible, in the midst of its brethren, in the Dulkhelaitæ (pronounced Duklacitæ), or tribe of Dhu l'Khalaah, a people of Yemen noticed by Golius and Pocock, on the authority of native historians; and described as seated in the land of Hamyar*, between Sanaa or Uzal, and Mâreb, the metropolis of the ancient Sabeans. In the Arabic, as in the Hebrew, proper names are generally significant. Diklah, therefore, may either have been originally derived

* النسر Nom. idoli quondam Arabibus *Dulkelaitæ*, in Himjaridum terra cultum. (Gi. ap. Gol.) . . . Nasrum ab Hamyaro, seu *Dhu l' Chalaah* in regione Hamyar. — Poc. Spec. p. 95.

from Dhu l'Khalaah; or thus rendered by the Arabs, supplying in after-times, conformably with the genius of their language, a sense corresponding with the sound.* However this may be, in point of fact, the names Diklah, Dulkhelaitæ, and Dhu l'Khalaah, will readily be recognized, by Orientalists, as one and the same name in pronunciation. And the Dulkhelaites being confessedly seated amidst the great Joktanite settlements of Yemen, they may fairly be accounted, what their name imports them to be, the descendants and representatives of Diklah.

OBAL. — At the gate of the Arabian Gulf, or the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, a channel of barely seven leagues in breadth, interspersed with islands, affords a short and ready passage from Arabia to Africa. The patriarchal settlements once extended to the south-eastern coast of the peninsula, this avenue, it is obvious, would not lie long neglected, by an indigenously migratory and commercial people. Accordingly, the voices of Scripture history, of classical antiquity, and of Arabian tradition, unite to prove, that the African continent, at this point especially, was first colo-

* The scholars of Europe have here been too often led away, by the example of the Orientals. From Bochart to Jacob Bryant, the attempt to find *senses* for proper names has been the chief source of fanciful etymologies.

nized from the opposite shore. From the earliest times, the name of Ethiopians, and, in later ages, that of Abyssinians, were borne in common, by the kindred tribes of Libya and Yemen. The Cushite tribes, as the first settlers of Southern Arabia, would naturally supply the first emigrants: Africa offering them an easy and boundless retreat, when pressed towards its coast by the more powerful race of Joktan; whose descendants, again, if they crossed the straits, would, in the natural sequence of colonization, be found in the parts of Africa lying nearest to the mother country. This last probability alone is a strong presumption, in favour of the commonly alleged site of the family of Obal.

On the African coast, immediately outside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, we meet, in Ptolemy, the names, Avalites sinus, Avalites emporium, and Avalitæ, or the inhabitants of these parts. The name recurs in the geography of Pliny: only, for Avalites, the Roman geographer reads Abalites: a denomination, as has been justly observed by Bochart, literally the same with the Joktanite proper name Obal. But the bay, emporium, and people, of the Abaliti, it will be remarked and remembered, lay directly opposite to the peculiar patrimony of the Joktanite tribes, or the country of Katabania, so denominated from

their common father. And thus we find the collective proofs arising from the name and site of this African tribe, and from the names, and known Joktanite origin, of the opposite tribes and country, all naturally concurring to establish the conclusion drawn by Bochart: namely, that the Abalitæ of Pliny and Ptolemy, were the Joktanite tribe of Obal.*

ABIMAEL.—For the tribe and district of this patriarch, we must ascend to the north-western frontier of the settlements of Joktan. In this direction, clear and conspicuous land-marks of the name and race of Abimael are to be met with, both in ancient and modern geography, in the neighbourhood of Medina, or the part of Hedjaz bordering on the seats of his brother Sheleph or Salaph, and the Salapeni.

The proper name Abimael denotes simply "the father of *Mael*;" one of the most familiar formations of proper names in use among the Orientals. And the *Mali*, a people of Arabia well known to the ancients, preserve, as Bochart has finely noticed, the name of the father, in that of the son.

The rank and celebrity of the Mali are strongly

* The assumption of ancient migrations of Arab tribes, from Yemen, to the opposite coast of Africa, is sustained by the known fact of similar migrations, near our own times, from Omân, to the opposite coast of Persia. — See Biograph. Universelle, art. Mir-Mahnna.

marked by the testimony of Theophrastus; who numbers this people as one of the four tribes, or nations, who possessed the several incense, or spice districts of the peninsula.* The seats of three of these nations, namely, Sabea, Hadramáut, and Katabania, are familiar to readers conversant with the ancient geography of the country; and have been already verified in the present memoir. It remains only to determine the site of the fourth. The Mali of Theophrastus, I have now to observe with this view, are the same with the Malichæ of Ptolemy; as plainly appears on comparison of the classical, with the modern sites and names. For Ptolemy locates his Malichæ in the neighbourhood of Iathrippa or Medina: and in the neighbourhood of Medina, at this day, we find a town named, by modern geographers, indifferently, *Malai*, or *Kheyf;* the two words obviously restoring Ptolemy's Malichæ, a denomination, apparently, compounded of those of the town or district, and of the tribe inhabiting it. The identification will be complete, if it shall further appear, that the town of Malai, or Kheyf, is, like the Mali of Theophrastus, seated in a district celebrated for its aromatic products.

* Γίνεται μὲν οὖν ὁ λίβανος, καὶ ἡ σμύρνα, καὶ ἡ κασσία, καὶ ἔτι τὸ κιννάμωμον [?], ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων Χερρονήσῳ, περὶ τῇ Σάβα, καὶ Ἀδραμύτα, καὶ Κιτίβαινα, καὶ Μάλι.—Theophrast. Hist. Plant. lib. ix. cap. 4. ap. Bochart. G. S. lib. ii. cap. 24.)

Now, according to Burckhardt, who travelled to Medina by this route, El Kheyf, or Malai, is situated on the road from Szafra to Medina, at the northern extremity of the valley of Szafra and Djedeyde: in other words, at the gorge of the mountains, famous for the production of the celebrated balesan, or balsam of Mekka. The connection of Malai with this important traffic is clear from the fact, that Szafra, at the opposite entrance of the valley, continues, to the present day, one of its two chief marts. "Szafra and Beder," observes Mr. Burckhardt, "are the *only* places in the Hedjaz, where the balsam of Mekka, or balesan, can be procured in a pure state. The tree from which it is collected * grows in the neighbouring mountains, but principally upon Djebel Sobh; and is called by the Arabs *Beshem*. . . . . The Bedouins who bring it here †, usually demand two or three dollars per pound for it, when quite pure; and the Szafra Arabs resell it, to the Hadjys of the great caravan, at between eight and twelve dollars per pound, in an adul-

* "This is a shrub, which scarce grows taller than the pomegranate tree; the blossoms are like small stars, very fragrant; whence spring out little pointed pods, inclosing a fruit like an almond, called carpobalsamum, as the wood is called xylobalsamum, and the juice opobalsamum." —Calmet, ap. Johnson's Dictionary in voc. For his full account of the balsam tree, see Dict. of Bible, art. Balsam tree.

† "Szafra is a market-place for all the surrounding tribes."— Burckhardt, ii. 117.

terated state. It is bought up principally by Persians." *

The Maliehæ of Ptolemy, and the Mali of Theophrastus, thus identified with the inhabitants of Malai, or El Kheyf, by their eommon name, by their eommon vicinity to Medina, and by their eommon location in a region of aromatics (the interior Myrrhifera of the ancients); and the name Mali itself being the proper patronymic for the descendants of Mael, and of his father Abimael; there seems no way of escape from the eonclusion of Boehart, that, in this place and people, we reeover the seat and family of that son of Joktan.

In this example, lastly, as in every previous verification, the conclusion suggested by the local and nominal coiucidenees, is sustained and confirmed by collateral marks, in this quarter, of Joktanite eolonization: Malai and the Mali, or the eity and people of Abimael, being seated amidst Joktanite settlements; or between the Jorhamites, or Beni Jerah, the original inhabitants, aceording to Arab tradition, of Mekka and the Hedjaz, and the Salapeni, or Beni Sheleph, north-east of Medina, in the direction of Kasym and Nedjd. The relative evidence of the neigh-

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 123—125.

bouring localities thus beautifully blends in with the positive evidence of the names, to raise into a proof the fine conjecture of Bochart: the Salapeni, not being more legitimately deducible from Sheleph or Salaph, nor the Jorhamites, from Jorham or Jerah, than the intermediate town and tribe, Malai, and the Mali, from Abimael.

SHEBA. — Moses makes mention of three Arab patriarchs, who bore in common the name of Sheba: namely, a grandson of Cush, by Raamah; a son of Abraham, by Keturah; and this son of Joktan. By general consent of the learned, and by clear evidence of facts, it can be satisfactorily shown, that the last-mentioned of the three, the Joktanite Sheba, gave its origin, and his own name, to the primeval and renowned kingdom of the Sabeans of Yemen.

This illustrious nation, so famous in the annals of the Greeks and Romans, appears to have conferred the generic title of Sabeans, upon the kindred and dependent tribes, who peopled the south of Arabia; since Pliny states of the Sabeans, that they extended from gulf to gulf. But, according to the concurrent testimonies of Eratosthenes, Dionysius Periegetes, Priscian, Festus Avienus, and others of the ancients, the proper seat of the Sabeans lay between the Minæi and the Katabeni, in the neighbourhood

of the southern coast. Their capital, called by Eratosthenes, Mariaba, by Ptolemy, Sabatha Metropolis, and, by the Arabs themselves, indifferently, Mâreb, and Saba, was seated in the centre of a circular valley, at the foot of the Nikkum or Lokkum mountains; where, according to the natives (for the site of this once famous city is as yet unvisited by any European), traces of its ruins still remain.*

That the Mariaba of the classics, the Mâreb of the Arabs, was the metropolis of a great *Joktanite* kingdom, can at once and decisively be proved, on the authority of Abulfeda; who, in his brief notice, in his Arabian geography, of this ancient city, expressly states, that Mâreb was inhabited by the Beni Kahtan.† That its primitive inhabitants were Joktanites of the stock of Sheba, may no less clearly be inferred, from its other, and independent denomination, Saba ‡,

* Sabæi, Arabum propter thura clarissimi, ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus. — N. H. lib. vi. cap. 32.

† See p. 105. note.

‡ Since this was written, the enterprize of officers belonging to our surveying expeditions has brought to light most interesting confirmations of the native reports, concerning the ruins of Mâreb. The inscriptions recently discovered at Sanaa, Mr. Cruttenden informs us, were brought thither from Mâreb; whose ruins are, in fact, the building-quarry of Sanaa. "During our walks through the city, we discovered the accompanying inscriptions, and forthwith copied them on the spot. On close inquiry, we found that the stones had been brought from Mâreb, about two days' journey distant to the N.E., and that there were many more to

or Sabatha, and as well from the name of the nation itself, Sabatæ or Sabæi, whose chief city it was. The twofold name assigned, by the classic writers, to this metropolis, has been shown by Bochart to be in strict agreement with the accounts of the native historians; the Arab geographer cited by him making mention of this city, under the same double appellation, Marab or Saba.

The proof of the connection of the people, capital, and kingdom of the Sabeans of Yemen, with Sheba, the tenth of the sons of Joktan, can now be completed, in conclusion, from consideration of the corresponding names, and implied common

be found there. The longest inscription was on a slab of white marble, and, when we saw it, served to cover a hole in the roof of a mosque. A bribe of a dollar had a magical effect on the scruples of a servant, and the stone was brought to our lodgings that night to be copied, and carefully replaced before daylight. The Jewish workers in gold assured us, that, frequently, square gold coins were brought to Sau'á, by the shepherds of Mâreb, for sale, and a Banian merchant corroborated this account; adding, also, that jewels, particularly pearls, are found there, usually after heavy rains, when the people closely search the water-courses, and generally find something to repay them for their trouble. In the Imám's garden I one day found a marble head, and, on inquiry, learned that this, also, came from Mâreb. To my great mortification I was told that the figure arrived at San'á perfect, but was immediately broken, by order of the Imám, as a relic of ancient idolatry; and I was unable to find the other parts of the statue. The head, however, I secured, after some demur on the part of the gardener, and brought it to England. It is the only specimen of sculpture that I have ever observed in Arabia."—Narrative of a Journey from Mokha to San'á by Mr. C. J. Cruttenden, I. N. Journal of R. G. S., vol. viii. pp. 287, 288.

origin, of the surrounding tribes: Sheba being here encompassed, on every side, by his brethren; as may be seen, on reference to the scriptural map of Arabia, where Mâreb or Saba will be observed seated amidst the tribes and districts of Jerah, Jobab, Uzal, Diklah, Hadramáut, and Havilah.

The Queen of Sheba. — Before we may proceed, however, to verify the seats of this last-named of the sons of Joktan, our attention is claimed by a collateral inquiry, arising immediately out of the topic here under consideration. With the name of the Joktanite Sheba, the ancient kingdom of the Sabeans of Yemen, and with its capital Saba, or Sabatha Metropolis, stands connected, according to the general consent of the learned, one of the most interesting episodes in sacred history, the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon.

That this illustrious inquirer after truth, "whose praise is in the Gospel," bore rule in Joktanite Arabia, and undertook her pilgrimage to Jerusalem from the southern extremity of the peninsula, has been proved by Bochart in a manner so clear and convincing, that little remains but briefly to restate the leading grounds of his conclusion: namely, 1. The identity of the products of her kingdom, as described in the

books of Kings and Chronicles, and the products of that kingdom of Sabea of which Mariaba or Saba was the capital, as enumerated by Strabo, the elder Pliny, and other classical authorities. 2. The corroborative circumstance, that the Queen of Sheba is by our Lord denominated "the Queen of the South," an expression equivalent to "Queen of Yemen:" Yamen or Tamen, in Arabic, denoting, at once, the South generally, and peculiarly the territory of Arabia Felix, or the southern quarter of the peninsula.* 3. The significant geographical indication supplied by our Lord's further expression, "she came from the extremities of the earth:" a description which, taken in connection with that of "Queen of the South," could, at Jerusalem, be used appropriately, only to denote the southern extremity of Arabia, which terminates in the Indian Ocean. 4. The striking agreement with these several internal marks, and the still more remarkable concurrence among themselves, of wholly independent traditions respecting the

* التيمن Auster, Meridies. التيمني Territorium et clima Arabiæ Felicis. Gi. *quasi* Australe. (Gol. in voc.) It is remarkable that, in the Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel *νότος* is rendered by *Tamin*, as though our Lord's expression had been "the Queen of Yemen." Most probably it was so, in the Aramean dialect in which he spoke; and that *Tamin* standing, at once, for *Yemen*, and for *the south*, the Evangelist has rendered it in its more comprehensive sense, to make it more generally intelligible.

country of the Queen of Sheba; ecclesiastical history uniting with Rabbinical and Mahometan accounts, in describing her as queen of the Sabean kingdom of Yemen, and Mariaba or Saba, its capital, as the seat of her government. On this point, Philostorgius and Theodoret, ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century, have transmitted, from more ancient authorities, the received opinion of the Christian church; Aben Ezra, and the author of Liber Juchasim, from among the Rabbins, have handed down the consentient belief and tradition of the Jews; while the Arabian geographer cited by Bochart, with other native authorities, has represented the corresponding tradition, immemorially existing among the Arabs themselves. So perfectly, indeed, are these separate statements at unity, that any one of them might be taken as the representative of the whole. But this consent of authorities, thus distinct, and so often hostile, may justly be received as the voice of truth; the streams of the threefold tradition bearing internal evidence of the derivation from a common, and contemporary source. The locality fixed by this threefold tradition is, we have already seen, independently verified by those words of Christ, which entitle the Queen of Sheba, "Queen of the South," or of Yemen; and

by the further expression, from the same divine authority, which represents her as coming "from the uttermost parts of the earth," . . . in other words, from that Joktanite kingdom of Sheba, Saba, or Sabæ, which is terminated only by the Indian Ocean *, whose waters, blending with those of the Atlantic, divide Asia from Europe.

The verification of the country of the Queen of Sheba naturally suggests a further subject of inquiry, which critical attention to the Scripture narrative may equally enable us to solve. When we read that she "heard of the glory of Solomon," the interesting question at once arises, "through what channel did she hear?" And, on reference to the sacred history, we there find a plain and natural explanation; since, both in 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles, her beautiful episode is inseparably interwoven with the narrative of the celebrated naval expedition, sent by Solomon to Ophir. The adjustment of the true site of the Ophir of the Old Testament (one of the *quæstiones vexatissimæ* of sacred geography) must be reserved till we treat of the settlements of that

* The question occurs to me, as an interesting and not very remote probability, whether the ruins of Nakab al Hajar, near the southern coast, recently discovered and visited by our surveying officers, and bearing, in their Egyptian character, all the marks of the very highest antiquity, may not have been a seat of this great queen? — For the account of these majestic ruins, see Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. i. ch. 25.

son of Joktan: when proofs will be adduced, enough it is hoped to satisfy the most sceptical, that Ophir, like all his elder brethren, settled in Arabia; and that his chief seat lay in the mountains of Omân. Now Ophir, with its far-famed gold mines, thus lying on the eastern side of the Arabian peninsula, the combined expedition of the kings of Israel and Tyre, in order to reach their destination, must, it is most obvious, have traversed the entire line of the southern coast; coasting-voyages being then, and for so many subsequent ages, the only kind of navigation in use. But the chief ports along the southern coast belonged to the kingdom of Sheba or Sabea. And, as so great a naval enterprize could not possibly pass by unnoticed, putting in, as it must have done, constantly, perhaps nightly, from port to port, its fame, and, together with it, the fame of the great monarch who had projected and fitted it out, could not fail to reach the court and ear of the sovereign of Sabea.

The clearest proof, however, that the voyage of his fleet to Ophir, first brought the glory of Solomon to the knowledge of the Queen of Sheba, will be found in the sacred narrative itself; which so interweaves, with that expedition, the visit of this Arabian princess to Jerusalem, as to leave

no reasonable ground for doubt, that the memorable voyage in question, and her still more memorable journey to Jerusalem, stand mutually related, as cause and effect. In this light, the reader is now invited to re-peruse the scriptural narrative as a whole. To the mind of the present writer, it contains its own argument. While such are its intrinsic truth and beauty, that the general reader, he conceives, may feel thankful, as a matter of taste, that the subject requires its introduction.

"And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, ship-men, that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir; and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon. . . . And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon, concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions. And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones. And, when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart: and Solomon told her all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the

king, which he told her not. And when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cup-bearers, and his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord, there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report *that I heard in mine own land*, of thy acts, and of thy wisdom. Howbeit, I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it. And behold, the half was not told me: thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of spices, as these which the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon. . . . And the navy, also, of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of Almug

trees*, and precious stones. And the king made, of the Almug trees, pillars, for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house; harps, also, and psalteries for singers: there came no such Almug trees, nor were seen unto this day. And King Solomon gave unto the Queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked; besides that which Solomon gave of his royal bounty. So she

* The nature of the wood designed by the name *Almug* or *Algum* has exercised the curiosity of the learned, without leading, as yet, to its discovery. Michaëlis, in his ninety-first question, has discussed this point fully, and fairly gives it up; recommending, to Niebuhr and his fellow-travellers, further inquiry on the spot. Dean Vincent confesses the difficulty, and concurs in the recommendation of local inquiry. (Vol. ii. p. 268. note 35.) One hint of Michaëlis may be important as a clue: "Il doit être assez précieux, pour que le marchand trouve son profit à le transporter du pays." The hint is good; but Michaëlis lost its use, by confining the inquiry to Arabia. It is clear that, if such an article of commerce can be found in the *import* trade, ancient and modern, between southern Arabia and India, the question may be equally well solved. Now a precious and fragrant wood, known by names closely akin to the *Algum* of the Old Testament, is specified, both by Arrian, and by Sir William Jones, as a staple article of importation from India, into the ports of Persia and Arabia. According to the former authority, this wood was named *ξυλὸν σαγαλίνον*, according to the latter, *A'llawwa* by the Arabs, and *Aguru* by the Hindoos; all three names presenting easy modifications of the Hebrew name *Algum*. Arrian's words are, *ἀπὸ μὲν Βαρυγάζων . . . πλοῖα μεγάλα χαλκοῦ, καὶ ξύλων Σαγαλίνων.* (Ap. Huds. p. 20.) Sir William Jones's undesigned explanation of them (for the passage of Arrian, in this connection, seems altogether to have escaped him), I find in the Asiatic Researches: "As the *Hindus*, and the people of *Yemen*, were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the first instruments of conveying, to the western world, the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India, as well as the fragrant wood* called *A'llawwa* in Arabic, and *Aguru* in Sanscrit, which grows in the greatest perfection in *Anam* or *Cochin-china*."—Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 2. President's Fourth Anniversary Discourse.

turned, and went to her own country, she and her servants." *

Ophir. — The connection indicated, in the passage just cited, between Sheba and Ophir, naturally suggests the inference, at the outset, that they were neighbouring countries: an inference materially strengthened by the consideration, that the name of Ophir stands next, also, to that of Sheba, in the Mosaic catalogue of the sons of Joktan. And since, according to all ancient authorities, the kingdom of the Joktanite Sabeans appears to have extended across the south of the Arabian peninsula, from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb to the mountains of Omân, Ophir, which the naval expedition of Solomon argues to have lain beyond, or eastward, of Sheba, and in the vicinity of the sea, antecedently of proof might be sought, with every verisimilitude, in the direction of the coast of Omân: a quarter of Arabia, we have elsewhere seen, inhabited largely by other Joktanite tribes.

The contradictory opinions of the learned, who alternately transport the Ophir of the Old Testament to Africa, or to India, to the coast of Sofala, or the island of Ceylon †, rest wholly on the plea

* 1 Kings, ix. 26—28., x. 1—13.

† Michaëlis, for once, here takes the right side of the question: "Le pays d'Ophir, d'après ce qui en est dit Gen. viii. 9. 1. paroit avoir été

in which they altogether originated, that the name and dwelling-place of Ophir are no where to be found, among the settlements of his brethren in Arabia. Consequently, if we recover, in an appropriate part of the peninsula, not only the name and seat of this patriarch, but his name and seat in unquestionable connection with an old and famous Arabian mart of gold, specious learned theories must at once give way, before conclusive historical facts. With this view, the attention of the reader is invited to the following plain, though hitherto unnoticed facts; the result of the writer's researches upon a question of sacred geography so interesting in itself, and which has so long divided the learned world.

The intrinsic value of these facts, together with their force as an argument, may be best brought out by a simple statement of the process of investigation. Satisfied, by the whole analogy of the case, that Ophir had settled among his brethren in Southern Arabia, and sanctioned, by

situé dans l'Arabie elle-même; et du moins, selon la description qu'en donne Moyse, ne sauroit-on le chercher au delà de la mer, par consequent, ni dans l'isle de Ceylon, ni en Afrique. Quelle région de l'Arabie a le plus de droit à passer pour cet Ophir si fameux pour son or, dont l'abondance lui a fait donner son nom? Je prie en général M. le Professeur de Haven d'examiner soigneusement tout le passage de Moyse (Gen. x. 26—30.), *et d'y répandre relativement à l'habitation de ces anciens peuples Arabes, plus de jour que n'a fait Bochart.*" — Questions à une Société des Savants, Q. xxxix. ap. Niebuhr, t. iii.

the Scripture narrative of the Queen of Sheba, in the opinion that his settlements lay somewhere to the east of that famous kingdom, it caused me no surprise to find the scepticism of preceding writers, as to the existence of the name in Arabia*, confuted on my first reference to authorities in every body's hands, the maps of Sale and d'Anville; where, as indeed in all our modern maps, "Ofor or Ofir" appears, as the name of a city and district in the mountains of Omân, seated on their eastern side, near the sources of the Omân river, and within about a degree, or a degree and a quarter, of the coast. On reference to Ptolemy, it further came to light, that the mountain district in question was, in his time, inhabited by the Kottabani, or Beni Kahtan or Joktan†; a tribe expressly contradistin-

* "Je n'ai point trouvé de nom rassemblant à celui d'Ophir; mais je ne doute pas, que si quelq'un avoit occasion de parcourir le pays depuis Aden jusqu'à Dafar, comme j'ai parcouru celui de l'Imâm, il ne la trouve quelque part. Ophir étoit vraisemblablement le priocipal port du royaume des Sabéeos, et il étoit sans doute situé entre Aden et Dafar, peut-être même étoit-ce le port que les Grecs appellent Cana."—Niebuhr, tom. iii. p. 253.

M. Niebuhr's inferenee from the Mosaie topography of the Joktanites, antecedent to proof, that Ophir must be found in Arabia, is most souod: although he is altogether mistakeo, as we shall see presently, as to the part of Arabia in whieh we should seek his settlement.

† Ὀμανίται· ὧν ἀνατολικώτεροι Κατταβῆνοι, μέχρι τῶν Ἀσαβῶν ὄρων. (vi. 7.) The Joktanite origin of some of the tribes of Omân, as attested hy the native accounts, is io perfect harmony with the statement of Ptolemy. See Wellsted, vol. i. p. 336.

guished, by this geographer, from their neighbours of the same stock, the Jerachæi, or Beni Jerah, and the Darræ, or Beni Hadoram, . . . the former adjoining the Kottabani on the north, the latter extending southward of them to his Corodamum promontorium, or Ras al Had ; and whom the existing name of their town and district seems very plainly to designate as the descendants of the Joktanite Ophir. But the probable conclusion formed on these grounds, was most unexpectedly advanced towards certainty by the subsequent discovery, that the adjoining coast of Omân, lying due east under Ofir, was still celebrated, in the time of the elder Pliny, for its traffic in native gold.

When laying down the ancient geography of Omân, after the minutely accurate delineations of this great naturalist, my attention was arrested by the mention of a gold coast, . . . *littus Hammæum ubi auri metalla.* On reference to my MS. map, it appeared, that its *previous* adjustments of Pliny's localities very exactly concurred with the obvious agreement of the two names, to identify his *littus Hammæum* with the town and coast of *Maham*, lying between the Omân and Thamar rivers, opposite to the isles of Sohar, and due east of Ofir. This identification was noted down, accordingly, in the classical map; which

was actually in the hands of the engraver, before a passage of Niebuhr fell under my observation, containing demonstrative proof, arising from the physical character of this iron-bound coast, that the littus Hammæum of Pliny can be no other than the strand or shore of Maham; the entire coast of Omân, from Cape Mussendom to Cape Ras al Had, being mountainous to the water's edge, with the exception of one day's journey, between the towns of Sib and Sohar, at the mouths of the two rivers discharging themselves near these towns *; in other words, with the exception of the strand, in the centre of which is seated the town of Maham, and which is thus physically, as well as etymologically, proved to be the littus Hammæum ubi auri metalla. †

* " Sur toute la côte à l'est de l'Omân, depuis *Rás el Had* jusqu'à *Rás Musséndom*, il n'y a de *Tehâma*, ou de plaine sablonneuse, *que la valeur d'une journée de chemin entre le village de Sib et la ville de Sohâr*; mais tout le domaine de l'Imâm est montagneux jusqu'à la mer."— Niebuhr, tom. iii. p. 255.

† Niebuhr remarks of Omân, " On n'y manque . . . de mines de plomb et de cuivre." (iii. 256.) Where these metals are found, there may have been gold. Of native copper, one kind, " copper of cementation," " is never very pure, but *mixed with gold*, silver, or iron, or with sulphur;" and " in Hungary and Transylvania, *the lead ore* contains *a quantity of gold* as well as silver."— Encycl. Brittan.

Mr. Wellsted's researches throw fuller light on the richness of Omân in metals. " Arabia has been pronounced to be wholly destitute of the precious metals, but, *in this province*, we meet with silver, associated as is usual with lead. Copper is also found: at a small hamlet, on the road from Semed to Neswah, there is a mine which the Arabs at present

Before we take leave of the settlements of Ophir, it may be well, on a question so long at issue, briefly to resume the chief points of the proof through which we have just passed. 1. The recovery of the name of Ophir, as that of a town and district of Southern Arabia, in the midst of other Joktanite settlements, is a strong presumption in favour of the inference, that the district so named had been peopled by that patriarch. 2. This natural inference is corroborated by the testimony of Ptolemy, who places the Kottabani, or Beni Joktan, in the mountains of Ophir. 3. The position of this mountain district, beyond the kingdom of Sabea, in the direction of the eastern coast, tallies most accurately, with the scriptural accounts of the expedition planned by Solomon, and with the manner in which the sacred recorders of that expedition connect Ophir with Sheba. 4. A mountain district, communicating, as the modern Ofir does, by a river with the sea, presents the character of country most favourable to the production of gold. 5. The

work, but *the others* are wholly neglected. Even in the vicinity of Maskat, *the hills are very metalliferous.*"—i. 315.

On Michaëlis's recommendation (Q. xxxix.) that "inquiry be made after native gold in Arabia," Dean Vincent very justly remarks, "The account of the gold of Ophir in Scripture cannot be affected by the result. Silver is not now found at Carthagena in Spain, where the Phênicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, obtained it in great abundance."—Peripl. of Erythr. Sea, vol. ii. p. 267. note (29).

actual existence of gold, in this neighbourhood, as a staple article of traffic, so late as the commencement of the Christian era, is proved beyond controversy by the unexceptionable testimony of Pliny.

From these collective premises may unpresumptuously be drawn the conclusions, 1. that the Ofor of Sale and d'Anville, a town and district in the mountains of Omân west of the coast of Maham, is the Ophir of the Old Testament: 2. that the littus Hammæum ubi auri metalla, or GOLD COAST mentioned by Pliny, was the true term of the famous voyage, in the reign of Solomon, from Ezion-geber, or Akaba, at the head of the gulf of Elah: 3. and, lastly, that this Ophir or Ofor, the country of the Kottabani of Ptolemy, one of the many tribes known generically in Arabia by the denomination of Beni Kahtan or Kahtanys, was the primitive and proper seat of the family of Ophir, the son of Joktan, which, like so many other districts denominated from the brethren of this patriarch, still preserves, at the present day, the name and memory of their father.*

* The name of this Joktanite patriarch, and of the famous gold-country of Arabia, which, in the time of Ptolemy and Pliny, bore, and which still retains, his name, is a curious specimen of the flexibility of proper names in the Arabic, and its kindred dialects. For *Ophir* can be traced through, at least, eight varieties of form: thus, in the prophecies

HAVILAH.—For the various forms of this patriarchal name, in the Arabic idiom, the reader is referred to the preceding section of this memoir; where its several varieties of inflection have been fully treated of, under the head of Havilah, the son of Cush.

In tracing the settlements of the second, or Joktanite Havilah, we first recover the name and tribe of this patriarch, under the most familiar of its idiomatic variations, in the province of *Haulan;* a district bordering on the Joktanite kingdom of Sheba, and lying due north of Mariaba or Mâreb, its capital. The locality of Haulan, encompassed on every side by the settlements of Joktan, supersedes all occasion for detailed proof, that this region was so named after the Joktanite Havilah, and peopled by his descendants.

of Jeremiah and Daniel (Jer. x. 9. Dan. x. 5.) it is written *Uphaz;* in the Song of Solomon (v. 11.) *Paz,* (LXX vers.) *Kephaz;* in Chronicles (2 Chron. iii. 6.) *Parvaim;* by Eupolemus, *Orphe;* by Ptolemy, *Appa;* by Niebuhr, *Efi;* and by Sale, d'Anville, and all subsequent authorities, *Ofor.* M. Niebuhr notices variations nearly as numerous, in the pronunciation of the word *Simoom.* "Vent empoisonné, qu'on nomme *Sám, Smum, Samiel,* ou *Samêle, suivant les différens prononciations des Arabes.*" —Descript. de l'Arab. tom. iii. p. 7.

Can the *Obri* of Wellsted (Travels in Omân, i. 218—226.) be the *Ofor* of d'Anville? The similarity of name is obvious; and the latitude, and coast-distance, are the same. The savage reception which Mr. Wellsted met at Obri would have barred all inquiry, had that intelligent officer (whose recent death is a public loss) been in possession of the facts, which combine to fix, in this neighbourhood, the site of Ophir.

Another seat of this stock presents itself to our notice in M. Niebuhr's invaluable map of Yemen; where we meet, in the midst of other Joktanite seats, Chaul, as the name of a small province S.E. of Sanaa or Uzal, long. 45°, lat. 15°, and mid-way between the preceding Haulan and the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The Chaul of Niebuhr is the seat of the Cagulatæ of Pliny, and the Beni Kholan of Burckhardt: denominations obviously identical with Beni Chaul or Chaulan, in other words, with the Havileans.

A third province of Chaulan or Havilah occurs in the neighbourhood of Nedjran: but whether to be referred to Joktan, or to Cush, seems doubtful. Niebuhr inclines towards the latter opinion; Cushite settlements having left many traces in this quarter. The Joktanite denominations, on the other hand, of the Shiekhdom of Kahtan, bounding this district of Chaulan on the north-east, and of the town of Baisath Joktan, adjoining it in a southern direction, dispose me rather to the belief, that the Chaulan here in question was also named and peopled by the posterity of Havilah the son of Joktan.

Jobab. — The critical eye of Bochart first discerned the family of Jobab, in the tribe of the Jobaritæ; a people of southern Arabia mentioned by Ptolemy, and located by this geogra-

pher in the vicinity of the Sachalitæ, inhabiting the country bordering on the famous bay (now Giun al Hascic) of the same name. Ptolemy's description of the site of the Jobaritæ seems well to answer to the district of Lûs *K*ebir or *G*ebir *, a mountain tract contiguous to the sinus Sachalites, and whose Arabic name may, not improbably, be derived from his Jobaritæ.

In rightly identifying the Jobaritæ of the Alexandrine geographer with the Joktanite name and race of Jobab, Bochart assumes that Ptolemy wrote Jobabitæ; and that the substitution of R for B (a common errour of the pen both in Latin and Greek manuscripts) is to be regarded merely as a lapse of the transcribers. The reasoning is ingenious, but altogether unnecessary. For the variation in question had its origin, not in any confusion of the Greek characters, but in the flexible genius of the Arabic idiom. And we may safely conclude, both that Ptolemy wrote Jobaritæ, and that Jobaritæ and Jobabitæ are alike idiomatic varieties of the patriarchal proper name Jobab, if we find the two forms still extant, as the names of Arab tribes at this day.

For full satisfaction on this point, the reader

* "Le ق et ڪ, dont les Arabes du Nord et de l'Ouest se servent comme d'un K ou d'un Q, se prononcent à Maskat, et près de Golfe Persique, comme *tsch*."—Niebuhr, t. iii. p. 73.

is referred to the scriptural map of Arabia, accompanying this memoir; where, resting on the safe authority of Niebuhr, he will recognize the Jobaritæ of Ptolemy, in Beni Jubbar, the actual name of a tribe and district, in the country of the Beni Kahtan, S.E. of Beishe, or Baisath Joktan, in the direction of Mâreb; and the original, or scriptural form of this name, in Beni Jobub or Jobab, the existing denomination of a tribe and district situated in the ancient Katabania, half way between Sanaa and Zebid. This last example, I would observe in conclusion, constitutes one of the many Joktanite land-marks which surround Mount Sumara or Sabber, and which thus serve to identify this mountain region of Yemen (the seat of the Sapharitæ of Ptolemy) as the term of the wide-spread settlements of the sons of Joktan indicated in the words of Moses, . . . "and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east."

SECTION III.

SETTLEMENTS OF ISHMAEL.

"AND Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar (putting it on her shoulder), and the child, and sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs.* And she went, and sat her down over against him a good way off, as it were a bow-shot: for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad: and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar?

* The interest of the scene is painfully heightened, if we reflect on the age of Ishmael. The boy, no longer a child, was now, at least, in his fifteenth year; but reduced, by suffering, to the helplessness of childhood. In this state, his poor mother appears to have borne him in her arms, until her strength, also, failed, "and she cast the child under one of the shrubs." The precise age of Ishmael, at this date, is easily ascertained. He was thirteen, when circumcised. Isaac was not born until the following year; and had been *weaned*, before Hagar and her son were sent into the wilderness.

fear not: for God hath heard the voice of the lad, where he is. Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation. And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink. And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt." *

In the history of the world, it has ever been the prerogative of Omnipotence, to produce the greatest effects by the slightest causes, and to reach the highest ends, by the most unlikely means. The case of Ishmael naturally recalls to the mind a law of Providence, of which it stands among the most signal examples.

A mother and her only child, perishing in a burning wilderness! what eye of man could have discerned here, the progenitors of a great and mighty nation? Yet, with this scene of utter destitution, so beautifully and affectingly represented by Moses, began the fulfilment of God's promises to Abraham and Hagar, that "he would make of Ishmael a great nation:" promises, in the Mosaic age, already accomplished, in the rise of

* Gen. xxi. 14—21.

twelve potent tribes, the offspring of as many princes, the predicted sons of Ishmael; in the establishment of those tribes, not merely as roving Bedouins, but as a settled people, "by their towns, and by their castles;" and in the diffusion of an Ishmaelitish population "from Shur to Havilah," or across the Arabian peninsula, from the border of Egypt, to the mouths of the Euphrates.*

But, while the mind is naturally led to pause upon the astonishing contrast, between the opening scene from Genesis, and these, its earliest recorded results, the passage itself (Gen. xxi.) conducts immediately to the object properly before us: since, in this memorable context are contained the primitive landmarks, which can alone safely guide us in the attempt to verify the settlements of Ishmael, and to discriminate between the Ishmaelitish tribes, and the other

* "Une autre partie des habitans de l'Arabie reconnoît pour auteurs les descendans d'Ismaël, et de Céthura; et il faut encore leur joindre la postérité d'E'saü. On voit entre les noms des enfans d'Ismaël, et de Céthura, ceux de plusieurs lieux, dont il est fait mention dans les livres saints, et qui appartiennent à l'Arabie. C'est principalement dans le Hedjaz, et dans les déserts qui joignent l'Arabie et la Syrie, et qui occupent ce grand espace qui s'étend de l'Est à l'Ouest, depuis l'Euphrate jusqu'à l'extrémité septentrionale de l'Egypte, que les descendans d'Abraham par Ismaël, et par les enfans de Céthura, paroissent avoir fixé leur demeure." — De Sacy, ap. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xlviii. pp. 598, 599.

great patriarchal stocks, which, previously, or subsequently, colonized Arabia.

Thus viewed in its historical and geographical bearings, there are three leading points in this place of Genesis, to which I would now bespeak attention: 1. the site of the desert, in which Ishmael and his mother were exposed; 2. the position of the locality, in which "the son of the bond-woman" originally settled; and, 3. the peculiar relation in which the outcast Hagar stood to Ishmael and his descendants, as not the mother only, but, virtually, the sole parent of the race.

1. The scene into which Hagar and her son were first dismissed wanderers by the divine command, is authoritatively defined by the words of Moses, "and she wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba:" in other words, in that part of the Arabian desert immediately adjoining the cities of Beer-sheba and Kadesh-Barnea, and bounding, consequently, the land of promise on the south.

2. The original abode of Ishmael, when he came to man's estate, is thus described by Moses, "and he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran." The site and boundaries of this desert may be given in the words of the learned Dr. Wells: "The wilderness of Paran, in the larger sense, seems to have denoted all the desert and mountainous

tract, lying between the wilderness of Shur, westward, or towards Egypt, and Mount Seir, or the land of Edom, eastward; between the land of Canaan, northwards, and the Red Sea, southwards. And, in this sense, it seems to have comprehended under it the wilderness of Sin, and the wilderness of Sinai, as also the adjoining tract, wherein lay Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth.* This outline of the Mosaic "wilderness of Paran," is, in substance, confirmed by the authority of Ptolemy; whose *Pharan oppidum*, and *Pharan promontorium* (now Ras Mohammed), terminate the peninsula of Sinai on the south; while his *Pharanitæ*, or people of Paran, extend northward, from the head of the Elanitic Gulf, at least to the confines of his Munichiatis, or the desert of Tyh.

The wilderness of Paran being the primitive seat of Ishmael†, and the nucleus of this Abrahamic patriarch's settlements in Arabia, it would seem but natural that his more immediate descendants should have taken name (after the custom of the Arabs in every age) from the tract of country which they occupied in right of their

* Hist. Geogr. of O. and N. T., vol. i. p. 274.

† Stephanus of Byzantium notices a district, in this neighbourhood doubtless, preserving his name. Ἰσμάηλα· τῆς Ἀραβίας χωρίον· οἱ οἰκοῦντες, Ἰσμαηλῖται. (De Urb. in voc.) Regiunculam hanc ab Ismaële Abrahami filio nomen habere, satis liquet. — ED.

father. On this ground alone, therefore, it might with good probability be inferred, that Ptolemy's Pharanitæ were Ishmaelites; an inference further strengthened by their juxtaposition to the Midianites (a people, in the Old Testament, indifferently styled, Midianites, and Ishmaelites,) at the eastern head of the Red Sea.

But a more direct proof that the Pharanitæ were indeed Ishmaelites, and Paran (conformably with the authority of Scripture) the cradle of the race, will presently arise, as we now proceed to consider the peculiarity of the relation between Ishmael and Hagar, as an outcast mother, and a deserted child.

3. By his abandonment, although in compliance with a divine command, of Hagar and her son, Abraham had clearly forfeited all natural claims as a father. Hagar, in virtue of this act, became, as it were, the sole parent of Ishmael, and the rightful mother of his future progeny. That the progeny of Ishmael, therefore, should, among other national appellatives, preserve and perpetuate his mother's name and memory, would seem only a just consequence, and natural anticipation. Let the presumption now be tried by facts.

Commencing with Ishmael's primitive dwelling-place, the wilderness of Paran, we find

Mount Sinai, in the heart of that wilderness, expressly entitled *Agar* in the New Testament, and popularly known by the name of *Hagar*, among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai at the present day. That it was originally so named after Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, appears incontrovertibly from the reasoning of Saint Paul; who introduces Sinai under its name of Agar, in argumentative connection with the opposition between the wife, and the concubine, of Abraham, and between the son of the bond-maid, and the son of the free-woman: "For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free-woman. But he who was of the bond-woman, was born after the flesh; but he of the free-woman, was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar, is Mount Sinai in Arabia."*

But this plain scriptural intimation, that Mount Sinai derived its name of Agar or Hagar from the mother of Ishmael, with the obvious consequence, that the wilderness of Paran, amidst which it stands (the seat of Ptolemy's Pharan emporium, and Pharanitæ), was peopled by his descendants, authorizes the extended conclusion,

* Gal. iv. 22—25.

that whatever further traces of the name of Hagar may be discoverable, whether in the ancient, or the modern geography of Arabia, are all referable to the proper-name of the mother of Ishmael, the virtual sole parent of himself, and of his race.*

It will be seen, as we proceed, that the Arab tribes derived from Hagar and Ishmael, like the earlier stocks descended from Cush and Joktan, were, at the same time, generically known by the common patronymic of Ishmaelites or Hagarenes, and specifically distinguished from each other by the names of their respective more immediate progenitors, the "twelve princes," born, by divine promise, to the son of Hagar.

It is needless to dwell on the high historical value of this national usage of the Arabs, which (as has been repeatedly seen in the preceding pages) doubles, in every new example of its occurrence, the evidence of the descent. I shall, therefore, without preface, adopt an order of inquiry plainly pointed out by the existence of this usage, and proceed to trace the settlements of the race of Ishmael in Arabia, 1. under the generic names of Hagarites, and Ishmaelites, and,

* In one example, that of *Hagar*, as the name of the province otherwise called Bahrein, the derivation is demonstrable from Baruch, iii. 23., where we find the Arabs of that province styled *viol* Ἀγαρ.

2. under the specific denominations derived from the twelve patriarchs, the founders of "the generations of Ishmael."

The Mosaic catalogue of these generations, or tribes, is familiar to every reader of Genesis. Having recorded the names of the twelve families, in those of the twelve patriarchs, their fathers, it thus bears witness to their separate existence as nations: "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles, twelve princes, according to their nations." The sacred historian proceeds to mark out the primitive settlements of this great patriarchal race: "And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria." In other words, the dwellings of the Ishmaelitish tribes, prior to the time of Moses, lay across the entire neck of the peninsula, from the mouths of the Euphrates, to the Isthmus of Suez.* In this direction, it

* The Gulf of Suez was the scene of the most stupendous miracle of the Exode, the passage of the Red Sea. I would take this opportunity to animadvert upon the whole class of hypercritics (among whom I am sorry to include the respectable name of Dr. Robinson of New York), who would tame down this amazing display of Almighty power, into the natural effect, supernaturally timed, of an east, or north-east, wind, co-operating with the ebb tide, "to drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the Gulf itself, *leaving the shallower portions dry*; while the more northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water." (Biblical Researches in Palestine,

follows, we may expect the clearest traces of this people, under their generic names of Hagarites and Ishmaelites.*

* In the Book of Judith, the race of Ishmael is noticed by their patronymic, as extending to the southern confines of Syria and Cilicia. Holofernes, moving south from Cilicia, "spoiled all the children of Rasses, *and the children of Ismael*, which were towards the wilderness, at the south of the land of the Chellians." (Judith, ii. 23.) The same verse makes mentions of "*Phud and Lud*," as inhabitants of the hill country, or Upper Cilicia; and thereby corrects the geography of Bochart and Wells, who not only carry these two Cushite nations into Africa, but confine them exclusively to that continent. The march of Holofernes is wholly inconsistent with this notion.

---

vol. i. p. 82, &c.) According to this view of it, the miracle resolves itself into an extraordinary flux and reflux of the tide, produced by the action of the wind; and the transaction could have presented no appearance to the eye, beyond that of an unusual egress and regress of the waters. As though still more to abate its supernatural character, the aid of *fords* and *shoals* is called in; in order (it is presumed) that the wind and the Israelites might have the least possible difficulties to overcome!

From these puerilities we return to the sacred narrative; where, to the plain reader, each step and circumstance of the transaction will present miracle crowding upon miracle, on a scale every way worthy of the occasion and the Author. For, 1. Such was the power of the miraculous east wind, that, instead of merely blowing aside, it "divided," literally "cut, or clave in sunder," the waters of the sea (ויבקעו המים): 2. Such, at the point of scission, was the depth of the sea, that, instead of the passage being cleared by secession of the tide on the southern side, the waters *on both sides* stood raised perpendicularly, so as to form "*a wall* unto the Israelites, on their right hand, and on their left:" 3. In proof that the term "wall" is to be understood, not figuratively, but literally, we have its meaning cleared by two equivalent expressions,—that the waters *stood as an heap*,—and that they were *congealed*, or suspended, as though turned into ice:—

> "And with the blast of thy nostrils,
> The waters were gathered together:
> The floods *stood upright as an heap*;
> The *depths* were *congealed* in the heart of the sea." (Exod. xv. 8.)

Now, the first mention of the people called Hagarites, in the Old Testament, happily is accompanied by a decisive historical proof, that

Here we have miracle upon miracle: the waters, first, miraculously severed; and, then, miraculously suspended in the air. But, if the evidence of the Song of Moses, and of the Psalms, be disallowed, as *poetry*, I shall dispose of the question by turning to plain prose. In the Book of Joshua, we have a second and similar occurrence, where the nature and amount of the miracle admits not of debate, — the passage of the Jordan. (Josh. iii. 7—17.) Now, *the very phrase* used by Moses — "they stood as an heap" — to describe the miraculous suspension of the divided waters of the Red Sea, is that employed, by the author of the Book of Joshua, to describe the miraculous suspension of the upper waters of Jordan, while the lower naturally flowed off and failed. That the waters of a river, confined within its bed, and arrested in its course, must rise up into a wall, is self-evident. And the same expression being used to characterize the phenomena of both miracles, what was literally true of the waters of the Jordan, must be literally true of the waters of the Red Sea. The exactness of the two descriptions is attested by an appropriate variation: we have *two* walls of water in the one case; and *one* only in the other.

The nature of the miracle, made plain to our common sense by the direct language of Scripture, is equally attested by its indirect allusions to the passage of the Red Sea. Undesigned coincidences of this kind have a value in evidence, which, since the time of Paley, is well understood. With reference to the question before us, I have specially in view two passages of Isaiah. Their bearing upon it seems altogether to have escaped notice; although, in themselves, sufficient to decide it. With these passages I would close the scriptural proof. The first, (Is. xi. 15, 16.) demonstrates the similarity of character between the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, and that of the Jordan, by its comparison, with the former, of a third miraculous passage (the theme of this particular prophecy), namely, that of the returning of the children of the captivity over the river Euphrates: "And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian Sea (the grand impediment of the Exode); and, with his mighty wind, shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dryshod. And there shall be *an highway* for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; *like as it was to Israel, in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.*" In the case of the river, there is no mistaking the nature of

this people derived their origin from Ishmael, and their national appellative from his mother Hagar. The passage in question is the fifth chapter of the first Book of Chronicles, which relates the conquests and settlement of the three pastoral tribes, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, eastward of Gilead and Bashan, their proper inheritance, or in the direction of the Euphrates and Persian Gulf. It will be readily perceived that the line of country here intended, corresponds geographically with the land of Ishmael, as defined by Moses in the twenty-fifth chapter of Genesis: while the Mosaic account of his primitive settlements is most satisfactorily, because quite incidentally, confirmed by the later Scripture (1 Chron. v.); which not only describes these parts as seats of the Hagarites, but specifies those Hagarites to be Ishmaelites, and of three

the predicted miracle; and, the one being the counterpart of the other, as little room is there for mistake, in the case of the sea. In the second passage (Isaiah, xliii. 11—14.), we have a description of the passage of the Red Sea, perfectly in accordance with the idea of a road or "highway" between two walls of water; and wholly incompatible with that of a strand, left uncovered by the recession of the tide: "Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, and his people, saying, Where is he, *that brought them up out of the sea*, with the shepherd of his flock? Where is he, that put his Holy Spirit within him? That led them by the right hand of Moses, *dividing the water before them*, to make himself an everlasting name? That led them *through the deep*, as an horse in the wilderness, that they should not stumble? As a beast *goeth down into the valley*, the Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name."

distinct tribes, descended from the youngest three sons of Ishmael.

"And eastward, he [Reuben] inhabited unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates; because their cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead. And, in the days of Saul, they made war with the Hagarites, who fell by their hand; and they dwelt in their tents* throughout all the east of Gilead. And the children of Gad dwelt over against them, in the land of Bashan unto Salcah. . . . . The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were four-and-forty thousand seven hundred and threescore, that went out to the war. And they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab. And they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them. For they cried to God in the battle, and he was entreated of them; because they put their trust in him. And they took away their cattle: of their camels, fifty thousand, and of sheep, two hundred and fifty thousand, and of

* The word *tents* is important: it proves that the conquerors became, what the conquered clearly were, Nomades or Bedouins (Ahl al Shemál), inhabiting the pasture-grounds between the Haouran and the Euphrates.

asses, two thousand, and of men, an hundred thousand. For there fell down many slain, because the war was of God. And they dwelt in their steads, until the captivity."

The Hagarites, against whom this memorable expedition was undertaken by the trans-Jordanic tribes, lay, we here learn, between the lands of Gilead and Bashan (the portions of Reuben and Gad) and the Euphrates. Their position clearly proves their identity with the Agræi, mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabitants of this quarter. For the Gilead and Bashan of Scripture are the same with the Auranites or Aurana, and the Batanea, of this geographer, or with the modern Hauran: but Ptolemy places his Agræi in the immediate vicinity of his Aurana, and also explicitly states, that they adjoined the Batanei. The Hagarites of 1 Chronicles, and the Agræi of Ptolemy, being thus unquestionably the same people, it follows that, by his Agræi, were intended the Ishmaelite tribes, already noticed, of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab or Kademah: one of those Bedouin confederacies (as is manifest from the spoil taken), which, in every age, have obtained among the wandering tribes of the Arabian desert.

Without adverting, at present, to the far more powerful Ishmaelite nations, amidst whom the Bedouins now in question lay interspersed, it will

be found, on examination, that, in the seats of these Hagarites alone, we can distinctly trace the settlements of Ishmael, from the confines of Palestine, to the land of Havilah, on the western coast of the Persian Gulf. In the former direction, the Roman province of Ituræa, still named Djedour, marks out the western boundary of Jetur; whose descendants, under the classical appellation of Ituræans, spread far to the east (as will elsewhere appear) along the mountain chain, which crosses the desert Arabia. In the latter direction, the city and bay of Kademah, near the head of the Persian Gulf, preserves to this day, in unaltered integrity, the name and memory of the youngest of his sons, in that very land of Havilah, which Moses has pointed out as the eastern term of the wide-spread settlements of Ishmael.

That the Nodab of 1 Chronicles is the Kademah of Genesis, will be shown when we treat of the family of this patriarch. And the tribe of Nephish being mentioned second in order, as confederate with those of Jetur and Kademah, whose geographical positions seem ascertained, the fair presumption is, that it lay between them. The space of country (little short of nine hundred miles) necessarily traversed in quest of the seats of this Hagarite confederacy, though it

will present no difficulty to the experienced Orientalist, may naturally startle, at first view, readers imperfectly conversant with the migratory habits of the Arabs. It happens well, therefore, that we can cite a decisive passage from Burckhardt, which incidentally establishes the fact, that migrations and collisions perfectly analogous to those described in the fifth chapter of the first Book of Chronicles, still periodically take place, in the very tracts in question, between the Arabs of the Persian Gulf, and the inhabitants of the Hauran. "Those low grounds, which are denominated *Wadys*, and of which the Bedouins distinguish eight, as the principal in this direction [between Tadmor and Anah], are the pasturing places of all the great Aeneze tribes, in winter-time; and extend for a distance of five days' journeys from west to east. Wady *Hauran*, which has been mentioned in a preceding account of this desert, forms a part of those Wadys. During the last century, this ground was the continual scene of conflict, between the Mowaly Arabs, (who were then very powerful, but at present inhabit the desert about Aleppo,) and the Beni Khaled tribe from Basra. On those grounds, both tribes were accustomed to meet in winter, and contend for the right of pasture."*

* Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 215.

Happily for the verification of Scripture history, the manners of the East are unchangeable. We have but to substitute for the "Mowaly" and "Beni Khaled" of Burckhardt, the names of the contending Israelite and Ishmaelite tribes, and the scene of warfare here described becomes a perfect representation of the deadly conflict, on the same ground, "in the days of Saul," between Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, on the one side, and Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab or Kademah, on the other.

It is further remarkable, that, in the above-cited passage, Burckhardt speaks of the great Beni Khaled tribe, from Basra, as frequenting annually, at the present day, those very pasture-grounds of the Wady Hauran, which we find described, both in 1 Chronicles, and by Ptolemy, as the seats of the Hagarites or Agræi. This fact supplies only fresh illustration of the accuracy, alike of the sacred historian, and of the heathen geographer; while it stands, at the same time, as a valuable connecting link between the Hagarites of the Syrian frontier, and those Hagarite tribes whom we shall presently recover, in the neighbourhood of the Bahrein islands, on the Persian Gulf.

In treating of the settlements of the family of Cush in Arabia, it has been already shown, that

the Beni Khaled, whose chief seat is the province of Lachsa or Bahrein, are the same with the Chaulothæi or Chaulasii, of the Greeks, or with the Cushite tribe of Havilah, inhabiting "the land of Havilah," on the Persian Gulf, so called in Scripture after their name. Now it is explicitly stated by Dionysius, the author of the Periegesis, who was himself a native of the neighbouring emporium of Charax, that the Chaulasii and Agræi lay next beyond the Nabatheans, and extended side by side, or intermingled with each other, from the vicinity of Mount Lebanon to the border of the Chatramitæ, or the Joktanite tribe of Hadoram, south of the Astan river, where the town of *Hadrama* still preserves to this day, both the classical, and the patriarchal, denomination.

This statement of Dionysius, as to the juxtaposition of his Chaulasii and Agræi, in the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, completely authentieates itself, by harmonizing the independent testimonies of Scripture, Ptolemy, and Burckhardt. It remains only to prove its aceuracy in a southern direction, by adducing historical evidences equally clear and authoritative for the intermixture of Cush and Ishmael, of the Hagarites with the Beni Khaled, throughout the

scriptural "land of Havilah," or the province of Bahrein.

As the Beni Khaled Arabs are the actual sovereigns of Bahrein, and as the district of El Hassa, parted from the seat of the Chatramitæ of the Periegesis, or Hadrama, only by the Astan river*, is to the present day peopled by this great tribe, . . . the correctness of the southern boundary assigned them by Dionysius seems brought to geographical demonstration. A de-

* The existence of the Astan, as a *permanent* stream, is annihilated by the ocular testimony of Captain Sadleir. His remarks will apply to most of the rivers laid down in maps of Arabia. "Of the course of a river, inserted in many of the modern maps, and made to run close to Ul Ahsa, I have to remark, that there are certainly many torrents, formed by the winter rains, which shape their courses according to the direction of the valleys of this district. But, as they are only periodical, they ought not to be magnified into a river. It is probable, that the incidental collection of water in these valleys, at a certain season, and the great abundance of water at Ul Ahsa, both in the shape of natural lakes (but totally unconnected), and of wells, reservoirs, and springs, which are to be met with, in every direction, in its neighbourhood, have given rise to the idea of a river, or torrent, having, at some former period, forced its way to the sea. The Arabs, at this moment, assert, that there is a river which passes under ground, the stream of which has never been seen by any human being. [This is, most clearly, the "Flumen, per quod Euphratem emergere putant," mentioned in this quarter by Pliny. C. F.] They imagine, that these springs, which gush up, are supplied by the superabundance of the waters of this river; and that similar springs, in the neighbourhood of Bahrein, derive their existence from the same source. This is to be considered rather as a figurative description, than as a premeditated falsehood. Kotzebue in his Travels in Italy, gives an interesting account of *the subterraneous streams* near Modena." (MS. Journal, p. 270.) Captain Sadleir's scepticism seems perfectly gratuitous. Why doubt the similar existence of *a subterraneous stream* in Lachsa? The idea of the Arabs, most likely, is the correct one.

cisive testimony from Pliny shall next evince the equal correctness of the poetic geographer, in his juxta-location with the Beni Khaled, in this direction also, of the Hagarites or Agræi.

From good authorities, confirmed by the reports of modern travellers, we learn, that a great arm of the Euphrates (apparently the river Pison mentioned in Genesis, "which compassed the whole land of Havilah") formerly traversed the western coast of the Persian Gulf, into which it issued opposite the Bahrein islands. In describing the country in this quarter, Pliny, having first made mention of Mariaba (now Merab), the metropolis of the Calingii or Beni Khaled, proceeds to notice two towns, situated on, or near, the river or channel, "where the Euphrates is supposed to emerge from underground:" the one named Pallon, the other Muranimal (Borani): the former inhabited by the *Agræi*, the latter by the *Ammonii:* the Ammonii manifestly Cushites, or of the race of Ham or Ammon; the Agræi, still more manifestly, Ishmaelites, or of the race of Hagar.

We have thus the concurrent authorities of Dionysius Periegetes and of the elder Pliny, for the intermixture of the Agræi or Hagarites with the Chaulasii or Beni Khaled, in other words, of an Ishmaelite with a Cushite population, in the

land of Havilah, or Bahrein. The ascertainment of this fact, however, is but an initial step in the proof, that the race of Ishmael, or the Hagarites, had early overspread this region; so as, in process of time, to obscure, if not to expel, their Cushite predecessors. Thus, while the authorities just adduced show the existence of Ishmaelite settlements in these parts, under the generic name of Agræi, we are furnished by Ptolemy with the names of the several Ishmaelite tribes included under that generic denomination. The coast opposite the Bahrein islands, he informs us, was peopled by the *Themi*, and the country inland by the *Masæmanes*, . . . tribes too obviously preserving the names of *Tema* and *Masma*, two of the sons of Ishmael, not to suggest the presumption that they were descendants of these patriarchs: a presumption converted into proof, when the tribes bearing these patronymics are identified, by their "local habitation," as the same people with the Agræi. Traces of the name and race of Adbeel, the third son of Ishmael, seem also legible in Ptolemy, under the contracted forms of Bilbana (Beni Adbeel), and Bliulæi: the one, the name of a town of the Gerræi; the other, that of a tribe adjoining this great commercial people, on the south.

But the name, the site, the surrounding popu-

lation, all combine to prove Ptolemy's Gerræi, the anagram, merely, of the Agræi of Pliny; and his Gerra, the anagram of Hagar, a city often spoken of by the Arab writers as the ancient capital of Bahrein. For, 1. The Gerræi are placed, by the Alexandrine geographer, immediately southward of the Themi; a position accurately coincident with that of the Agræi of Pliny, whose Pallon oppidum seems geographically, as well as etymologically, identified with the Bilæna or Bilbana civitas, mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of the Gerræi. 2. Ptolemy, in common with all the ancient authorities, places the famous city of Gerra at the foot of the deep bay or inlet of the Persian Gulf, at the mouth of which are situated the islands of Bahrein. And this, be it remarked, is precisely the position assigned by Abulfeda, Nassir Ettusari, and Ulug Beg, in their geographical tables, for the site of Hagar; which city they correctly place in lat. 25° 15″. 3. But the Gerra of classical antiquity thus identified with the Hagar of the Arabs, the identity of the Gerræi, its citizens, with the Agræi or Hagarites, follows as matter of course: a result, which enables us to trace one of the two most celebrated nations of Arabian antiquity, for its origin, to Ishmael and Hagar. The city of Gerra or Hagar, erroneously confounded by Mr. Gib-

bon with Chat or Katiff, a town nearly eighty miles to the northward of it on the same coast, is said, by Strabo, to have been founded by Chaldean exiles. His report of its origin is chiefly valuable as an indication, southward, of northern Arab tribes; in other words, of "the mingled people of the wilderness," by whom Chaldea, properly so called, was originally peopled.

In the surrounding Ishmaelite names and colonies of the Agræi, the Themi, the Masæmanes, &c. the reader has already before him, from the pages of Dionysius, Ptolemy, and Pliny, the earlier presumptive evidences, that the exiles or emigrants who founded the Gerra of the Greeks, or Hagar of the Arabs, were in fact a colony of Hagarites. The presumption will probably be admitted to amount to conclusive proof, when, on reference to the modern geography of this part of the peninsula, we find that not only the chief city, but the entire province of Lachsa or Bahrein of which it was the ancient capital, retain the names, and are occupied by the very tribes, which mark to us, in the age of Ptolemy or Pliny, the predominance of a more recent Ishmaelitish, over the primitive, or Cushite, population. Thus the ancient Themi or Thimanei are self-evidently identical with the Beni Temim or Temin of modern Bahrein: the Masæmanes, both in name

and site, are lineally represented by the great Bedouin tribe of Beni Shaman or Saman: the city of Kadara, south of the Astan river, peopled, according to Ptolemy, by the Aegei or Agræi, indicates strongly the existence of a Kedarite settlement at this point of the Persian Gulf; while near its head, at the opposite extremity of Bahrein, branches of the once potent tribe of Kedar are still to be met with, as will elsewhere appear, in the neighbourhood of Koneit or Gran Harb, and on the Schat al Arab, or mouths of the Euphrates. The proof comprized in these collective indications, as to the early diffusion of the stock of Ishmael and Hagar, under the generic title of Agræi, or Hagarites, along the western side of the Persian Gulf, or throughout the great district known, territorially, by the name of Bahrein or Lachsa, may be now, in conclusion, compressed into a single fact: a fact demonstrative of the eventual ascendency of the Hagarites of this province over its previous Cushite population. Every one is aware, that the part of Arabia in question is that known in Scripture by the name of Havilah. The significant change to which attention is, in conclusion, invited, needs no comment: namely, that its scriptural and Cushite appellation of *Havilah* has long and wholly disappeared; and that the province vulgarly called Bahrein, is

now known, among the Arab tribes inhabiting it, chiefly and properly by the Ishmaelite name of HAGAR. *

The settlements of Ishmael, under the scriptural matronymic of Hagarites, or Hagarenes, have, thus far, been geographically traced from Agar, or Mount Sinai, on the confines of Egypt, to the province and city of Hagar †, on the Persian Gulf: in other words, throughout the line of country, which Moses thus describes the Ishmaelites as occupying in his day: "and they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria."

From this, their prophetic patrimony, where they dwelt, at once, confronted with the Jews, and intermingled with the Abrahamic tribes from Keturah and Esau, the posterity of Ishmael, under the denomination of Hagarites or Hagarenes, in process of time, sent offshoots southward, both through the heart of the Arabian peninsula, and along its eastern and western coasts, until the Ishmaelite tribes became blended among those of Cush and Joktan, in the neighbourhood of the Arabian Sea, or Indian Ocean.

* "Cette contrée s'appelle proprement الحسا *el Hassa*, Láchsa, ou encore هجر *Hadjar* [Hagar]." — Niebuhr, Descript. Arab. t. iii. p. 293.

† هجر Nom. primariæ urbis in Bahrein. — Jac. ap. Gol.

Whether established by conquest, or introduced by commerce, the traces of Hagarite colonies in these remoter parts, are most distinctly legible in the classical geography of Arabia. Indeed it could not be otherwise: for it seems to have been a natural law of Arabian colonization, that, while the infancy of each successive race was nursed in the desert, its hardy sons, in their maturer strength, instinctively pressed towards the fertile regions of the south; where, accordingly, Arabs of all the patriarchal races may be found.

In the present example, we leave the district of Hagar, and people of the Agræi, on the Persian Gulf, only to enter, advancing still in a southern direction, the Bedouin kingdom of Ararena (an obvious error of his transcribers for Agarena), a country mentioned by Strabo among the ephemeral conquests of Ælius Gallus, on his famous march towards Yemen. In another place it will be shown, that this waste territory lay on the southern confines of Nedjd, and on the great inland route to the spice country, the grand object of the Roman expedition. The correction of Strabo's text, from Ararena to Agarena, will hardly be disputed, when it is now added, that the district in question is still peopled by the Ishmaelite tribe of Temyn, and that its chief town (apparently the same with that besieged and

taken by Gallus) bears the Ishmaelite name of Temyn, or Temen, to the present day. From Agarena, following the regular inland caravan route, the Roman army marched upon another Hagarite settlement; Strabo's city of the Agræi*, Agrani, or Anagrani, . . . various readings alike manifestly idiomatic varieties of the scriptural name, and rightly to be corrected into . . . the city of the Hagarites, or Hagarenes. The town described by Strabo is that of Nedjran, a celebrated station on the caravan road from Nedjd to Yemen. His description is most accurate: for, in the Hamyaritic dialect, this town is named, not simply Nedjran, but "the city of Nedjran."†

That Nedjran is Strabo's "city of the Agræi or Agarenes," may be further established from the literal correspondence of its ancient and its modern names, with those of another Hagarite settlement, plainly noted in the geography of Ptolemy, in the neighbourhood of his Mount Climax, and as plainly extant in the modern geography of Yemen, in the same mountain region, or the Djebal. In these parts, Ptolemy

* Διῆλθε . . . . μέχρι πόλεως Ἀγραναῶν. — Lib. xvi. p. 1128. ed. fol. 1707.

† نجر Pagus, oppidum: Himjaritarum idiomate ita dicunt, — نجر نجران *Urbs Nezjrân.* — Jac. ap. Gol. in voc.

places the Araganitæ, with their capital Araga; names presenting the ordinary anagrammatic forms of Agaranitæ and Agara, or Hagarenes and Hagar. But the district and people thus designated by Ptolemy answer most accurately in site to Wady Nedjran and its inhabitants, a valley and tribe of Yemen, situated in the Djebal, or mountain district. Nedjran being thus a common nomenclature, equivalent, on the one hand, to the Agræi, Agrani, or Anagrani of Strabo, and, on the other hand, to the Araga and Araganitæ of Ptolemy, it follows that these are simply anagrammatic varieties of the one name, the Hagarites or Hagarenes of Scripture.

The following confirmative circumstances may, not unappropriately, close our preliminary researches after the posterity of Ishmael in Arabia, under their scriptural and classical matronymic. In Niebuhr's map of Yemen, *Hagar* occurs, as the name of a town and district in the neighbourhood of Sanaa. But Burckhardt informs us, that the towns and districts of Yemen are named after their inhabitants. The actual existence of the name, in these parts, with the known derivation of the local names from the occupants, shows, 1. that the Araga of Ptolemy has been rightly pronounced the anagram of Hagar, and, 2. that his Araganitæ have been correctly identified with

the Hagarenes. It remains only to observe, that both inferences are corroborated by the ascertained existence, in this quarter, of the Ishmaelitish names, of *Massa*, *Hadad*, or *Hadar*, and *Mib-sam:* in the *Massonitæ* of Ptolemy; the tribe of *Hadad*, noticed by native authorities as one of the tribes of Yemen*, . . . inhabiting, probably, the district of Hadar, and its chief town Hadedda, laid down from actual survey by Niebuhr; and the *Sammei* of Pliny, a tribe on the coast in the vicinity of *Miba*, . . . the town and its inhabitants, not improbably, preserving, in their conjoint names, the memory of their Ishmaelite origin from *Mib-sam*.

The full evidences in support of these last verifications will be found under the proper heads, the names of those Ishmaelite patriarchs. I shall here only add, that these Hagarites of Yemen, whose chain of settlements extends from the vicinity of Sanaa to the borders of the Hedjaz, at this point become linked with the most formidable, and best known, of all the families from Ishmael, . . . the mighty tribe of Kedar;

* هَدَادٌ Nom. tribûs in Iemen. (Gieuhari ap. Gol. in voc. هدد.) Here we have a tribe bearing the name of a son of Ishmael, still in existence in the tenth century. Its seat in Yemen serves to identify this tribe of *Hadad* with the *Agrani* of Strabo, or the *Araganitæ* of Ptolemy; while it corroborates decisively the correction of both misnomers into *Agareni*, and *Agarenitæ*.

and, through it, maintain an uninterrupted connection with their brethren of the great northern desert. This point of fact, at length, reconducts us to the cradle of the Hagarite race and name; to the Mount Agar of Saint Paul, in the peninsula of Sinai, the scene so simply and beautifully assigned by the first of historians, as the primitive seat of Ishmael their father: "And God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran."*

The wilderness of Paran, as we learn from this Scripture, was the first heritage of Ishmael: and it is observable that those of his descendants who settled in this neighbourhood, are usually called, in the Old Testament, not by the name of his mother, but by his own. Thus, the merchants who purchased Joseph, and whose calling as traders between Canaan and Egypt bespeaks them inhabitants of the peninsula of Sinai, are denominated "Ishmaelites." As, presently after, they are styled "Midianites," their local habitation is fixed beyond a doubt in that region, or in the country adjoining Paran. The connection, or identity, of these Ishmaelites, with the Hagarites spoken of in 1 Chron. v., seems significantly indicated by the quarter whence they came:

* Gen. xx. 20, 21.

"Behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spices, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." The movement of this Ishmaelite caravan becomes historically illustrated, when we find the Hagarite Bedouins of Jetur, Nephish, and Kademah, seated, in the days of Saul, along the whole eastern border of Gilead; and the names *Hagarites* and *Ishmaelites* thus unequivocally proved synonymous.

But the neighbourhood of the Ishmaelites, distinctively so called, to the land of Midian, or the eastern head of the Red Sea, is further apparent from the Book of Judges: where the Midianites whom Gideon miraculously overthrew are stated in express terms to be Ishmaelites; and to be leagued with the Amalekites, whose settlements (as will hereafter appear) extended west of Midian and Paran, or along the western head of the Arabian Gulf.

In fixing the position of the Ishmaelites of the Old Testament, we ascertain, with high probability, the geographical site of Ismaëla: a district of Arabia noticed by Stephanus of Byzantium, and which he expressly states to be inhabited by the Ishmaelites. There can be little doubt that this district should be sought in the wilderness of Paran; and none, that both province and

people derived their name from the son of Abraham and Hagar.*

From this preliminary view of the dispersion, over the Arabian peninsula, of the race of Ishmael, under the generic names of Ishmaelites and Hagarites, we can now proceed, with clearer light, and firmer footing, upon a more specific object of research: namely, the recovery of the twelve Arab tribes, or nations, of which, according to Moses, the sons of Ishmael became the founders. Nor can scepticism itself require stronger evidences of national origin than will arise, when we succeed in proving, that the people of Arabia known generically by the name of Hagarites, were equally known, as subdivided into tribes, by the names of the sons of Ishmael, their respective progenitors.

With one decisive example to this effect, the reader is already familiar. In the fifth chapter of the first Book of Chronicles, we have seen the Arab tribes bordering on the Hauran, or Gilead, first described under their generic name of Hagarites, and then distinguished, specifically,

* Ἰσμάηλα· τῆς Ἀραβίας χωρίον, οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἰσμαηλῖται. (Steph. Byzant. de Urb. in voc.) "Regiunculam hanc ab Ismaële, Abrahami filio, nomen habere satis liquet: nam Abrahamo de Ismaële consulenti respondetur, eum fore longævum, et magnarum gentium patrem.... Ab illo igitur *Ismaëlitæ*, qui quondam cum Chusæis et Madianitis promiscue habitarunt."—Berkel. in Steph.

as an association, or confederacy, of the three Ishmaelitish tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab or Kedemah.

This precious fact of Scripture history is alone decisive of the meaning of Moses, when he makes mention of the sons of Ishmael "by their towns, and by their castles;" and repeats his enumeration of those patriarchs, as in his day represented by their descendants, "twelve princes, according to their nations."

The intimations thus, both directly and indirectly, given, by the sacred writers, of the rise of twelve great Arab tribes from the twelve sons of Ishmael, are elucidated both by Jewish, and by heathen authorities. "Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates, that Abraham [Ishmael], of his Egyptian wife, begat twelve sons; who, departing into Arabia, divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence, even to our days, the Arabians have twelve kings, of the same names as the first." Josephus fully corroborates the substance of this statement; while his better information corrects, as might be anticipated, its circumstantial inaccuracies. The Jewish historian, like the heathen, affirms the existence of twelve Arab nations, sprung from the sons of Ishmael, and called after

their names. He adds a catalogue of these patriarchs, intended, like that of Moses, as a clue to their tribes: a catalogue identical with the Mosaic, yet varying so far in the spelling of the names, as to indicate its being copied from an independent source. Thus (not to notice the Greek terminations) for Adbeel, he reads Abdeel; for Hadad, Chadad; for Dumah, Idouma; for Tema, Theman; and for Kedemah, Kadmas: variations containing internal evidence of their origin, not as Greek corruptions of the Hebrew text, but as idiomatic changes in the Arab pronunciation.

The boundaries assigned to these Ishmaelite families by the Jewish historian comprize, in its largest sense, the tract of country allotted to them in the Mosaic history. For Josephus states that, in his own day, they occupied the whole range of country between the Euphrates and the Arabian Gulf; which was denominated by themselves *Nabatene*, in honour, at once, of their descent from Abraham by Ishmael, and of the primogeniture of Nebaioth.

This account by Josephus, in the first century of the Christian era, of the known existence and location of the Ishmaelite tribes, is supported, in the fourth century, by the independent testimony of one equally conversant with these

parts, the learned St. Jerome, who was himself long resident on the confines of Arabia. This father depicts, with the vivid minuteness of an eye-witness, the predatory incursions of the Ishmaelites into Palestine, in his day. In his graphic narrative, these daring Bedouins, with their horses. and their camels, their half-naked bodies, and long-filletted hair, seem, as it were, to pass before the eye. Nor is the testimony of St. Jerome limited to general notices of the Ishmaelites, or Hagarites, as an existing people of northern Arabia: with Scripture and Josephus, he further distinguishes them by their tribes. Thus, in his commentary on Isaiah, lx. 7., he identifies with the Ishmaelites, as an extant and well-known race, the two great Arab tribes there spoken of, Kedar and Nebaioth. As corroborative of the previous statements of the Jewish historian, the words of this comment are peculiarly valuable. "Kedar is a country of the Saracens, who, in Scripture, are called Ishmaelites; and Nebaioth, is one of the sons of Ishmael, after whose *names* the desert is called, which, though barren of vegetable produce, abounds in cattle."

We have thus a clear and full concurrence of scriptural, heathen, Jewish, and Christian testimonies to the historical fact, that the great

northern desert of Arabia, including the entire neck of the peninsula, was colonized by the twelve tribes descending from the sons of Ishmael, and called after their names. If, therefore, we can recover, in the classical, or the modern geography of this part of the country, Arab tribes bearing the names of those patriarchs, that is to say, names corresponding with those preserved in the original catalogue of Moses, we obtain at once so many evidences, not of mere similarity, but of absolute identification. For the proof is, in every light, complete, when our authorities refer us to local examination of the country itself for the truth of their statements; and local examination issues in direct confirmation of the points of fact alleged by our authorities.

NEBAIOTH.—According to Josephus, the "birthright" vested in Nebaioth, as Ishmael's firstborn, was inscribed on the entire face of the country originally occupied by the Ishmaelitish tribes, in its name of Nabatene. The geographical position of this region, the country lying between Shur and Havilah *, immediately identifies the Nabatene of the Jewish historian, with

* Traces of the eastern bounds of Nebaioth are still discernible, in the Arab names of localities on the Euphrates. Thus the Lemlum marshes are named بحاير النبط, *Paludes Nabathæorum.* Jac. ap. Gol.

the Nabathea, and Nabatheans, of the classic writers; names celebrated in the annals of the Greeks and Romans, as those of the most illustrious kingdom and people of Arabian antiquity. The wealth, power, and predatory inroads into Syria, of the ancient Nabatheans, together with geographical landmarks defining their true site and boundaries*, have been so largely set forth by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, that, when we reach this point of the inquiry, our only difficulty will lie in abridging, with clearness, the ample materials supplied in their pages. At this stage,

* "While the Edomites had been extending their limits in the northwest, they had, in turn, been driven out from the southern portion of their own territory, and from their chief city itself, by the Nabatheans, an Arabian tribe, the descendants of Nebaioth, the eldest son of Ishmael. This nomadic people had spread themselves over the whole of desert Arabia, from the Euphrates to the borders of Palestine, and, finally, to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea. At what period they thus supplanted the Edomites in their ancient possessions, is unknown; but so early as the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, who died 301 B. C., that prince, after having seized upon Syria and Palestine, sent two expeditions against the Nabatheans in Petra; the first, commanded by Athenæus, and the second, by his own son Demetrius. At this time, they were still essentially nomadic, and had, apparently, no king; but they had already begun to engage in commerce, and seem gradually to have become more fixed in their habits. In this way, during the following centuries, they grew up into the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, occupying very nearly the same territory, which was comprised within the limits of ancient Edom. It probably took this appellation from the name of its metropolis Petra. A king of this country, Aretas, is mentioned as contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, just before the time of the Maccabees, about 166 B. C. (2 Macc. v. 8.)."—Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 558, 559.

however, our proper business is with the evidence borne by Scripture: with those direct, or incidental notices, which present the Nebaioth of the Old Testament as the acknowledged founder of an Arab nation; and which serve authoritatively to identify this nation, on the one hand, with the Nabatheans of the Greeks and Romans, and, on the other hand, with the Beni Nabat of the Mahometan writers.

After the manner of Scripture, those notices are sparing and brief: yet are they amply sufficient for our purpose. The only reference to the family of Nebaioth, in the prophetic Scriptures, occurs in the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah: but this one reference is conclusive for their rank, as a people, among the nations of Arabia; since it classes Nebaioth high among "the forces of the Gentiles," who should come to bow down before the victorious Messiah, and to swell the triumph of the church: "The rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee; they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory." *

This mention of Nebaioth, in connection with the adjoining nations of Midian and Epha, of Sheba and Kedar, at the same time demonstrates

* Isaiah, lx. 7.

his existence as a people of Arabia*, and identifies the site of this people with that of the classical Nabatheans; who lay immediately adjacent to the very nations here enumerated by the prophet. The mention of "the rams of Nebaioth," further denotes a pastoral people; a characteristic in strict agreement with the situation of Na-

* It might seem superfluous to multiply proofs of this existence, had not scepticism directed its utmost efforts to shake the credit of the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael. On this account, it may be satisfactory to show the perfect agreement with the scriptural and classical notices of Nebaioth, of the incidental notices found among the Arabs themselves. The following allusions of native authorities to the Nabatheans, as an *existing* Arab tribe, are given, as they occur alphabetically, as examples of the language merely, in the Lexicon of Golius. بطايح النبط, *Paludes Nabathæorum*, quæ sunt inter Wasith et Basram. (Jacuti Hamatæi Thes. Geograph. The appellation demonstrates the truth of Josephus's statement, that the Nabatheans extended to the Euphrates.) تملوك, nomen plantæ *Nabathæa*. (Camus. A.H. 800, A.D. 1400 circiter.) جراجمة, *Nabathæi in Syria degentes*. (Al Gieuhari. Circa A. H. 390.) نبط, nom. proprium *gentis*, scil. *Nabathæi*, fortè [!] a Nabajoth Ismaëlis filio, *qui incolunt palustria Chaldææ*, Wasith inter et Basram. (Al Gieuhari.) It follows that the Nabatheans were still in being, as a separate people, in the tenth century: the location of this fragment of the tribe bearing, at the same time, decisive witness to their ancient greatness, and the extent of Nabatene as testified by Josephus. نبط, v. Similis fuit *Nabathæis. Genere Nabathæus fuit.* (Camus.) Inter Nabathæos sedem fixit. (Al Gieuhari.) نَبِيط i. q. نبط *Nabathon, Nabathæi.* (Ib.) نَبَطِيّ, et cum ذ et ذ, item نَبَط. (نبط *Nobâdon*, Camus.) *Nabathæus.* (Al Gieuhari et Camus.) The name is interwoven with the tongue itself.

bathea, and with the pursuits of its inhabitants, as described by Strabo, who especially remarks the abundance of its pastures.

The only other notices of this Ishmaelite race are contained in two passages of the first book of Maccabees. Both these notices are highly valuable, alike in their historical, and in a geographical point of view. For, while they directly illustrate (in strict conformity with profane history) the political relation of the Nabathean Ishmaelites with their neighbours, the Jews and Syrians, they incidentally define the northern limits of Nebaioth, in most exact correspondence with the geographies of Dionysius and Strabo. But we will let these contexts speak for themselves, . . . "Judas Maccabeus, also, and his brother Jonathan, went over Jordan, and travelled three days' journey in the wilderness; where they met with the Nabathites*; who came unto them in a peaceable manner, and told them every thing that had happened to their brethren in the land of Galaad.† And how that many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor,

* The distance, *three days' journey*, between the Jordan, and Petra on the Nabathean frontier, is most exact. So Diodorus Siculus, describing the march of Athenæus, from the Idumean border to Petra; ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας ἐν ᾗ μέραις τρισὶ καὶ νυξί.—Lib. xix. p. 412.

† Gen. xxxi. 47, 48.

Maked, and Carnaim (all these cities are strong and great): and that they were shut up in the rest of the cities in the country of Galaad: and that, against the morrow they [the Syrians] had appointed to bring their host against the forts, and to take them, and to destroy them all in one day." * . . . "Now Jonathan had sent his brother John, a captain of the people, to pray his friends the Nabathites, that they might leave with them their carriage, which was much. But the children of Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it." †

Upon the topography of these passages, it is obvious to remark, that it proves the neighbourhood of the Nabathites (or Bedouin encampments of Nebaioth) to Gilead or the Hauran, and the parts of Syria bordering on the Libanus: a point of fact conclusive for their being the same people with the Nabatheans, whose northern frontier, according to the concurrent testimonies of Dionysius and Strabo, commenced at the southern foot of Mount Libanus. It is further observable, that the line of country here in question is the same with the wilderness mentioned, 1 Chron. v., as the seat of the Hagarite tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. And that the Nabatheans

* 1 Macc. v. 25—27. † 1 Macc. ix. 35, 36.

and Hagarites did, in point of fact, occupy in common this tract of country, we learn from Dionysius, who represents the Nabatæi and Agræi as, jointly with the Chaulasii, inhabiting the southern foot of Mount Libanus, and frontier of Syria *

Now, the bare fact of the intermixture of the Nabatheans, in the one tract of country, with other undoubted Ishmaelite tribes, is alone strong presumptive evidence that the Nabatheans were, themselves, what all the evidences unite in demonstrating them to have been, Ishmaelites of the stock of Nebaioth.

The historical bearing of the foregoing contexts from 1 Maccabees is not less valuable, than the light which they thus incidentally throw on the northern boundary of Nebaioth. For, in this aspect, taken in conjunction with a passage of Strabo, they supply a striking example of what Archdeacon Paley terms "undesigned coincidence," in a way to accredit both authorities. The author of 1 Maccabees, we observe, in each passage cited, speaks of the Jews and Nabathites as friends and allies; a relation obviously implying their common enmity to the kings of Syria.

* Ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρῶτοι μὲν ὑπὲρ κλιτὺν Λιβάνοιο
Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἐπωνυμίην Ναβαταῖοι·
Ἄγχι δὲ Χαβλάδαί τε καὶ Ἀγραῖοι.—Orb. Descript. ll. 954—956.

That the Nabatheans, as well as the Jews, were thus hostile to the power of the Seleucidæ, appears from Strabo; who states that, prior to the Roman conquest of Syria, it had been repeatedly overrun by the Nabatheans and Sabeans; while Diodorus Siculus illustrates and confirms this statement, by his copious account of the invasion of Nabathea, and the unsuccessful siege of Petra, its capital *, by the armies of Syria.

* Burckhardt gives the first, Robinson the fullest, notion, of the scale of this famous city. "The ground is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets, all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here. On the left side of the river is a rising ground, extending westward for nearly a quarter of an hour, entirely covered with similar remains. On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description are also seen." (Trav. in Syria, p. 427.) "These are the chief remains of particular structures, which strike the eye of the wanderer, upon the site occupied by the city itself; and they have been noticed and described by all travellers, as well as by the pencil of Laborde. But these writers have omitted to mention one circumstance, or, at least, all have not given it that prominence which it deserves, viz. that all these are but single objects, amidst a vast tract of similar ruins. Indeed, the whole area above described was once obviously occupied by a large city of houses. Along the banks of the stream, the violence of the water has apparently swept away the traces of dwellings; but, elsewhere, the whole body of the area, on both sides of the torrent, and especially on the north, is covered with the foundations and stones of an extensive town. The stones are hewn; and the houses erected with them must have been solid, and well built. On looking at the extent of these ruins, it struck us as surprising, that they should, hitherto, have been passed over so slightly; although this may readily be accounted for, by the surpassing interest of the surrounding sepulchres. These foundations and ruins cover an area of not much less than two miles in circumference; affording room enough, in an oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants."— Biblical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 524, 525.

The constant intermixture of the Arab tribes in the interior of the country, and the undefined limits of the provinces into which Arabia seems, in every age, to have been divided, render it comparatively difficult to ascertain with precision the southern boundaries of the ancient Nabatheans. M. d'Anville, accordingly, speaks only in a general way, when he describes them as extending, from the heart of Arabia Petræa, eastward, far into Arabia Deserta, and southward, at least to the termination of the Elanitic Gulf, and the confines of the Hedjaz. Ptolemy and Strabo, however, furnish much more exact landmarks, in both directions, of the true extent of the kingdom of Nabathea; landmarks, the inadvertent overlooking of which has betrayed the learned d'Anville into more than one serious errour. Ptolemy, for example, categorically affirms, that the Nabatheans lay west of Mount Zames, or stretched to the western foot of that famous chain; a statement which determines the Zames mons of the ancients as their boundary on the south-east. Again, two positions on the Arabian Gulf, incidentally noticed by Strabo, in his account of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, as ports of the kingdom of Aratus, the sovereign of Nabathea, plainly indicate the extension of that kingdom, in a south-western direction, to the

latitude of Medina. For the Leuce Kome of the Roman geographer, where Gallus disembarked, is (as M. d'Anville has justly remarked) the town and port of Hawr, or *Whiteport**, north of Yembo; and his Nera Kome, where the shattered remnant of the Roman army re-embarked, on its return, the recovery of which has hitherto been given up as hopeless by all the modern geographers, will be identified, hereafter, by the clearest proof, with the port of Yembo.†

From this brief outline it would appear, that the name and power of Nebaioth anciently prevailed, not only in the Stony‡ and Desert Arabia, but also within the great provinces of Hedjaz and Nedjd: that the Nabatheans, in the ages of the Syrian kings, and first Cæsars, were dominant

* See Golius under the root حَارَ and its derivatives.

† See Part II. Sect. VI. Expedition of Ælius Gallus.

‡ The classical denomination, *Arabia Petræa*, however, has little significancy, on the vulgar supposition of its being the Greek version of the Arabic حجر, a stone. This province might, with far greater propriety, be named *the Sandy*, the face of the country being described, as covered, nearly, with wastes of sand. Regarded, on the other hand, as a natural mistranslation, by the Greeks, of حَجَر, the Arabic for *a town*, or *a district*, and the known denomination of so many other towns and districts of the Peninsula, we recover the just origin of the Arabic denomination, both of the province and its capital, in the proper name هَجَر, the mother of Ishmael.

in the Peninsula, from the Nile to the Euphrates, and from Mount Libanus to Mount Zametas: I say *dominant*, because it is certain that this vast region comprized in its population, not only different tribes, but different races; over whom the alternate ascendency of the potent families of Kedar, or of Nebaioth, is not unaptly represented, in our own day, by the dominion of the Wahabys. For, whether the bond of association was political, or religious, it seems to have been the universal and immemorial usage of Arabia for the associated Bedouins to merge, for the time being, their own names in that of the ascendant nation. That this must have been the case in the days of Nabathean sovereignty, can be shown on the authority of Diodorus Siculus; who describes the Nabatheans as only a powerful Arab tribe, more wealthy, indeed, and warlike, than the surrounding Bedouins among whom they bore sway, but far less numerous, since their aggregate military force did not exceed ten thousand men.

As described by Diodorus, the secret of the Nabathean power lay in the site, and natural strength of Petra, their capital, and in the security of their impassable deserts. The position of Petra, midway in the desert which divides Syria and Palestine from the Arabian Gulf, and three days' march from the Idumean frontier, gave

this natural fortress the double character of a mart of commerce, and a key-point of war. Accordingly we find, that, for a course of ages, the commerce of the East flowed chiefly through this channel. Hence the wealth of the Nabatheans. The commercial intercourse, between the Nile and Mediterranean, on the one hand, and the Euphrates and Persian Gulf, on the other, was carried on exclusively through this territory. The two great trading nations of southern Arabia, the Minæans and the Gerræans, alike sought Petra as their common market, for the rich products of Yemen, or the richer imports of India. The fruits of this resort were seen, in the national opulence of the Nabatheans. Antiquity has preserved and transmitted the most glowing accounts of this opulence. When Petra was surprized, during the absence of its garrison, by a flying camp of the Syrians, besides a treasure of five hundred talents of silver, immense stores of aromatics are mentioned by Diodorus among the spoils. By Strabo, who dwells glowingly upon their wealth, gold and silver, frankincense and myrrh, purple robes, pictures, statues, . . . in a word, the choicest luxuries of oriental commerce, are enumerated as articles of familiar use among these sons of the desert.

But, while thus prompt to profit by the gains

of commerce, the Nabatheans, like true Ishmaelites, were equally ready to incur the risks of war. Their predatory ravages in Palestine or Syria, and their piratical excursions upon the Arabian Gulf, against the fleets of Egypt, repeatedly provoked the hostility of the Macedonian kings. Nor do they appear to have been at all effectually checked, until encompassed by the consolidated power of Rome: to which, in the age of Strabo, they manifestly yielded only a forced and doubtful allegiance.

In his narrative of the abortive expeditions sent, successively, (under his friend Athenæus, and his own son Demetrius,) by Antigonus king of Syria, Diodorus Siculus has described the manners of this formidable people; and his description abounds with traits of national character, which, by all in the least conversant with modern accounts of the Bedouin tribes of this part of Arabia, will at once be recognized as internal proofs of its fidelity and exactness.

With two short extracts from this most graphical narrative, I shall close the inquiry into the light thrown by the classic writers, upon the scriptural notices of the settlements of Nebaioth. In the first of these extracts, Diodorus himself thus depicts the manners of the Nabatheans. "For the better information of those unacquainted

with their usages, it seems desirable to detail the laws and customs of these Arabs; in virtue of which they appear to have preserved their freedom inviolate. This people, then, pass their lives in the open air, calling by the name of country the uninhabitable desert; a region destitute, alike, of rivers, and of springs, whence water might be procured for the supply of an invading army. It is their fundamental national law, neither to sow corn, nor to plant fruit trees, nor to use wine, nor to build houses.* And every detected transgressor of this law is punished with death. The law itself owed its origin to the opinion, that possessors of the things prohibited by it, for the sake of retaining their possessions, could easily be compelled, by superior power, to yield obedience to the commands of despotism. Some of the Nabatheans are breeders of camels, others of sheep; and they seek pasture in the wilderness for their herds, or flocks. The pasture-grounds of the desert are parcelled among various Arab tribes: but, in substance and wealth, the Nabatheans have a decided superiority over their neighbours; although, in number, they scarcely

* A striking coincidence with the scriptural account of the manners of the Rechabites. (See Jer. xxxv.) As the Rechabites are said to be found, at this day, preserving still their ancient manners, *in the country of the Nabatheans*, the account of the latter by Diodorus is confirmed by the testimony of Scripture.

exceed ten thousand. Their commercial pursuits are the chief cause of this greater prosperity. For many of the tribe occupy themselves in the transport, to the sea-coast, of frankincense, and myrrh, and the most precious aromatics; articles of merchandize, which they receive, through the caravans, from Arabia Felix. But liberty is their first and darling passion. And, on the approach of an enemy in superior force, they fly, at once, into the desert, as into an impregnable fortress. For these waterless wastes are wholly impervious to strangers; but to the natives, who have prepared for themselves reservoirs under ground, hollowed out, and coated over with potter's clay, they afford a secure retreat. For the soil being argillaceous, and consisting of a soft kind of stone, the Nabatheans make great excavations in it, very narrow at the mouths, but widening continually as they go down, until, at the bottom, they dilate into such an area, that they measure, on every side, not less than two hundred and fifty feet. Then, filling these tanks with rain-water, they stop their mouths; and levelling the surface with that of the surrounding country, they leave certain marks, known to themselves, but imperceptible by others. Before they take flight, moreover, they water their cattle sufficiently for three days' journey; in order that,

in the absence of wells, or the urgency of a precipitate retreat, they may not stand in need of frequent watering. For their own sustenance, they use the flesh and milk of their live-stock, with such vegetable products of the desert as are fit for food. For the pepper-tree grows in these parts; and wild honey is, also, to be met with in great abundance, which the Nabatheans use, mingled with water, for their drink. Besides these, there are other races of Arabs; of whom some are cultivators, and intermixed with the tributaries; living in common with the Syrians in all respects, except dwelling in houses."*

In this sketch of Nabathean character and manners, the Scripture student will not fail to recognize the genuine offspring of the archer of the wilderness: who was to be "a wild man;" whose "hand was to be against every man, and every man's hand against him;" and who should dwell, free and invincible, "in the presence of all his brethren."

The perpetual independence of the Arabs, as the result of a prophecy and miracle in favour of the posterity of Ishmael, has been noticed by Mr. Gibbon, only to be contemptuously classed among the exploded fancies of less enlightened

* Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hist. lib. xix. tom. viii. pp. 408—411. Edit. Bipont.

ages. The learned historian proceeds to resolve their boasted freedom, not by the native spirit of the people, but by the physical character of the country. Diodorus Siculus, however, an authority chargeable neither with bigotry nor bias, puts a very different account of the phenomenon into the mouth of a Nabathean chieftain. The testimony of this Ishmaelitish emir, while it utterly refutes the scepticism of the historian, happily will not, at the present day, find the less acceptance, because of its strict agreement with what Scripture teaches us to look for in Ishmael and his posterity, as their distinguishing national character. The anecdote is as follows.... When, after the total loss of one army, Antigonus dispatched a second, under the command of his son Demetrius, to take vengeance on the Nabatheans, ... upon the approach of the Syrian prince to Petra, with the purpose of renewing the assault, which had failed on the preceding day, one of the barbarians, hailing him in a loud voice from its rocky summit, addressed the invader thus: "O King Demetrius, with what object, or by whose command, dost thou make war against us, tenants of the wilderness; who inhabit a region affording neither water, nor corn, nor wine; nor any one of those products, by you accounted neces-

saries of life? For, *led purely by our invincible repugnance to servitude*, we have fled into tracts destitute of all things which the rest of mankind esteem useful or convenient; and we have chosen to lead a wandering, and wild-beast-like life, without meaning hurt or injury to you. By thine own, and by thy father's sense of right, therefore, we adjure thee not to do us wrong; but receiving presents (tokens, not of submission, but of honour) at our hands, to withdraw the army; and, henceforward, to number the Nabatheans among thy friends. For, however desirous to do so, thou canst neither maintain thyself many days longer in thy present position, thus labouring under want of water, and of supplies of every kind; neither canst thou compel us to change our modes of life. But, at the most, thou wilt gain only a few dejected captives, who can never endure life under foreign laws." This address ended, "Demetrius," proceeds the historian, "withdrawing his army from before the place, desired the besieged to send ambassadors to treat with him of their affairs. Accordingly, the Arabs sent a deputation of their Scheikhs; who, employing arguments similar to those just recited, persuaded him to accept from them a present consisting of their most valued commodities, to

break up his camp from before Petra, and terminate the war."*

This heathen record of the national character and customs of the Nabatheans, in the words of an Arab of this tribe, is doubly conclusive, for the confutation of scepticism, and as a commentary on Scripture. Against the artful insinuations of Mr. Gibbon, it decisively proves, that these descendants of Ishmael by Nebaioth, instead of owing their freedom to the accident of their location in impassable deserts, originally betook themselves to these deserts, from an unconquerable love of liberty; consciously and deliberately

* Diod. Sic. ut suprà, pp. 417, 418. This address of a Nabathean Arab suggests a question as to the language spoken by the ancient Nabatheans. Professor Beer of Leipzig discovers that language, in the famous Inscriptions on the Djebel el Mukattab, or "written mountains," in the peninsula of Sinai. Professor Robinson's notice of this supposed discovery is curious and interesting. "Prof. Beer of Leipzig, who has recently deciphered these inscriptions for the first time, regards them as exhibiting the only remains of the language and character once peculiar to the Nabatbæans of Arabia Petræa; and supposes, that if, at a future time, stones with the writing of the country shall be found among the ruins of Petra, the character will prove to be the same with that of the inscriptions of Sinai. According to this view, they may, not improbably, turn out to have been made by the native inhabitants of the mountains. Still it cannot but be regarded as a most singular fact, that here, in these lone mountains, an alphabet should be found upon the rocks, which is shown, by the thousands of inscriptions, to have been once a very current one, but of which perhaps, elsewhere, not a trace remains." (Bibl. Res. vol. i. p. 190.) The recent discovery of inscriptions, on the rocks of Hisn Ghorab in Hadramáut, so far countenances Professor Beer's theory, as it proves the practice of the ancient Arabians.—See Part I. Sect. VII.

sacrificing all the benefits of civilized life, to the maintenance of a perpetual independence. In confirmation of the truth of Scripture, it further shows, in the case of the eldest and most illustrious of the Ishmaelite families, the wonderfully exact fulfilment of the prophecy concerning Ishmael, "he shall be a wild man:" since, even amidst that plenitude of commercial wealth, and of martial prowess, which awakened, alternately, the cupidity, and the fears, of their powerful neighbours, the Nabathean Arabs retained, unaltered, their primitive manners, and led the wandering life of pastoral Bedouins.

The dominion of the Nabatheans has been already likened to that of the Wahabys, as consisting rather in ascendency over confederate Arab tribes, than in their own numerical force. Now such precisely is the view presented by Josephus; who denominates the whole country between Shur and Havilah, *Nabatene*, but describes it, at the same time, as occupied by *all* the Ishmaelite tribes. Within this space, accordingly, we meet, in the Arabia of Ptolemy, several tribes bearing the names of others of the sons of Ishmael: while we gather from Strabo, that, in his time, the king of the Nabatheans exercised a sovereign control over the kindred tribes of Hedjaz and Nedjd; as plainly appears

from the fact, that a free and peaceful march, through the warlike tribes of both provinces, was procured for the Roman army under Gallus, by the presence, merely, of the Nabathean procurator Syllæus.* Thus, by the clear consent of heathen and Jewish testimonies, we learn to recognize, so late as the first century of the Christian era, in Ishmaelitish Arabia, the supremacy over his brethren attaching, in virtue of his birthright, to the name and race of Nebaioth.

But over and above the Ishmaelites properly so called, the Nabatene of Josephus, it will elsewhere appear, comprized within its limits other powerful Abrahamic tribes, the posterity of Keturah, or of Esau. The Edomites, especially, can be traced to the heart of the inheritance of Ishmael, as though they formed one people with the Nabatheans. The history of this intermixture of distinct races is contained in a single verse of Genesis: "Esau took to wife Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter, the sister of Nebaioth." † The alliance of Ishmael, in the infancy of the two stocks, accounts most naturally for the subsequent amalgamation of the Ishmaelites and Edomites. The specific mention of Bashemath as

* It was not until he advanced beyond the dominions of Aretas, the kinsman and ally of Obodas, that Gallus experienced hostile opposition. For the site of the kingdom of Aretas, see Part II. Sect. VI.

† Gen. xxvi. 34.

"the sister of Nebaioth," would appear to intimate the more near connection of her descendants, in particular, with the Nabathean Arabs. The reader will make his own inference, when it is added, that, of the tribes apparently of Edomite origin, inhabiting the central districts of the ancient Nabathene at the present day, *all* preserve the names of the son and grandsons of Bashemath.

The Nabatene of Josephus, we have seen, is equivalent to the country between Shur and Havilah, or the space described by Moses, as, in his day, occupied by the dwellings of the sons of Ishmael. That the tribes from Esau dwelt intermingled with those from Ishmael, throughout this region, is further established by the historical fact, that, in his expedition against Amalek, "Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah till thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt:" in other words, throughout the region of Nabathene; which was jointly colonized by the kindred and closely-allied Bedouins of the stocks of Ishmael and Esau, from their adjoining primitive settlements, in the wilderness of Paran, and Mount Seir.

But if, as the consenting testimonies of Jewish and classical antiquity thus unite to indicate, the posterity of Nebaioth so predominated over the

junior Abrahamic tribes, as to bestow the name of their father upon the whole inheritance of Ishmael, and to render the Nabathean power formidable to the potent monarchies of Syria and Egypt, and famous even in the annals of imperial Rome, . . . it may seem reasonable to expect, in more modern times, some vestiges of this once illustrious nation; that, at least, the tribe and name, with some landmarks of their ancient sovereignty, should be discernible in the history of Mahometan Arabia, and legible, also, in the modern geography of the peninsula.

The expectation will not be disappointed. And some existing indications of this nature may close, not unappropriately, this notice of the family and settlements of Nebaioth.

The point first claiming attention is, the exact correspondence, between the geographical boundaries of the ancient Nabathene, and certain landmarks of Nabathean colonization still extant in the modern geography of Arabia. The reader will recall to mind, that Leuce Kome, or Haura, on the coast of Hedjaz, north of Yembo, where the Roman legions, under Gallus, effected their landing, is stated, by Strabo, to have been a port of the Nabatheans. The account of Strabo is in unison with the statements of Ptolemy; who describes the Apatæi, or Napatæi, as stretching,

from the western foot of Mount Zames to the coast in the neighbourhood of the Aluaræ, or to El Haura. The correctness of both authorities will immediately appear, on reference to the modern geography of the Hedjaz; where we find the name and footsteps of the Nabatheans preserved at the present day, in a locality of the coast, about thirty miles south of Leuce Kome or Haura; the town of Nabt or Nabté, being the Arabic form of the Ishmaelite proper name Nebaioth. That Nabt was a frontier town of the kingdom of Nabathene, properly so called, towards the south, may be inferred, at least with high probability, from the remarkable coincidence, that, in Ptolemy, we find the Nabatheans joined and bounded, in this vicinity, by the Darræ; while, in the modern geography of Arabia, the boundary-line separating Arabia Petræa from the Hedjaz, in other terms, Nebaioth from Kedar, proves, from the perfect correspondence of the present with the ancient names and localities, to have passed between the neighbouring towns of Nabt and Kedeyre; a local denomination, this last, as obviously derived from the Darræ of Ptolemy, and Kedar of the Old Testament, as that of Nabt, from the Nabatæi, and Nebaioth. Under the head of Kedar, it will be shown, on independent grounds, that the Hedjaz

was the primitive and proper seat of the descendants of this patriarch, and that the Kedarites lay immediately adjoining the Nabatheans on the south: facts strikingly corroborative of the assigned line of demarcation. At present, I shall only remark, that, while the testimony of Strabo brings the Nabatheans southward to the vicinity of Nabt, and that of Ptolemy proves their conjunction, at this point, with the Darræ, we have the further, and decisive, authority of Pliny for the fact, that the Cedrei or Kedarites lay southward next the Nabatheans. The value, under these circumstances, of the above-stated coincidences of the ancient and modern names and localities, the Darræ or Kedrei being equivalent to the inhabitants of El Kedeyre, and the Apatæi or Nabatæi to the people of Nabt, will be duly felt by all readers conversant with similar verifications.

But while the Nabatheans can be thus traced geographically, north and south, from Mount Libanus to the confines of Hedjaz, the ancient Nabathene, according to Josephus, extended, west and east, from Egypt to the Euphrates. That Egypt formed its western boundary, admits not of a question: that the Euphrates has been assigned with strict accuracy, by the Jewish historian, as its term eastward, shall now be con-

clusively shown from a Mahometan writer of the tenth century: El Gieuhari, the author of an Arabic Lexicon cited by Golius, bearing date A. H. 390. From this native authority (El Gieuhari resided himself, alternately, in Mesopotamia and Syria, or in the very tract of country in question,) we derive the following decisive information: 1. that the lakes, or inundations of the Euphrates, between Wasith and Basra, known to modern geography by the name of the Lemlum marshes, formerly bore, and retained to his day, the name of "the Lakes of the Nabatheans;" and, 2. that they derived this appellation from their inhabitants, the tribe of Nabat, (a name correctly identified by Golius with the Nabatheans, and Nebaioth the son of Ishmael,) who still continued to occupy the seats of their ancestors, at least so late as the end of the tenth century; and whose descendants, the researches of another Burckhardt*, or the enterprize of a second Colonel Chesney, may, at any moment, ascertain to be inhabitants of the Lemlum marshes, in the nineteenth century.

* Burckhardt informs us of a Nabathean settlement in the opposite direction, near Mecca: "*Adhat el Nabt*, so called from some *Nabateans* who resided there; and were sent, by Mawya Ibn Aly Sofyán, to make mortar at Mekka." (Trav. in Arab. vol. ii. p. 415. Appendix.) Can the skill of the Nabatheans in the working of potter's clay (See Diod. Sic. viii. 410.) have led this caliph to employ them in the manufacture of mortar?

The capital and kingdom of the Nabatheans were known to the Greeks and Romans, by the familiar names of Petra, and Arabia Petræa. And both have been generally supposed, by the learned world, to have derived these appellatives from the *stony* character of the country. But, however applicable to the site of the Nabathean metropolis, the classical name has little peculiar appropriateness, as extended to the surrounding deserts of Nabathene. Reference to the original Arabic suggests a very different explanation: namely, that Petra, and Arabia Petræa, are simply misnomers, owing to a very natural and intelligible mistake of the Greeks of Syria, in attempting, unawares, the translation of *a proper name*. Hagar, with an initial ح, in the Arabic signifies a rock, or stone: but Hagar, with an initial ه (the word almost always used by the Arabs as a local denomination), is the name of the mother of the Ishmaelite tribes. We have seen, that the low and sandy province of Bahrein still bears the name of Hagar. We have seen, that Mount Sinai, in the heart of Arabia Petræa, is denominated Agar by Saint Paul. To the former example, the term *stony* would be altogether inapplicable: in the latter, the authority of Saint Paul settles the sense in which Sinai is called Hagar, by the Arabs inhabiting it at the present day: and, when the territorial name is coupled

with the independently ascertained origin of the inhabitants, both cases are clear instances of the proper name Hagar being used, by the natives, to designate Ishmaelite territories in Arabia. There seems, therefore, every reasonable ground and authority for the belief, that Petra, and Arabia Petræa, are classical mistranslations of the proper name Hagar.

KEDAR.—While the family of the first-born of Ishmael, so illustrious in the annals of the Greeks and Romans, is noticed once only in the prophetic Scriptures, . . . the Psalms and the Prophets supply a cloud of witnesses to the national greatness and glory of Kedar, his second son. The Old Testament evidences for the existence of Kedar, as a powerful people of Arabia, for the wealth and warlike character of this pastoral race, for their near neighbourhood and implacable hostility to the Jews, . . . are indeed so full and strong, as to leave nothing wanting for the satisfaction of those, who have learned, by experience, to place the testimony of the Jewish Scriptures above all other historical authorities.

In his propheey against Arabia, Isaiah thus introduees the mighty tribe of Kedar, (inhabiting, in eonjunetion with the kindred Ishmaelitish tribes of Dumah and Tema, the Arabian wilderness to the borders of Edom and Mount Seir), as on the eve of its fall: "The burden of

Dumah. He calleth to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye; return, come. The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim. The inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water unto him that was thirsty: they prevented with their bread him that fled. For they fled from the swords: from the drawn sword, and from the bent bow, and from the grievousness of war. For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail: and the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished: for the Lord God of Israel hath spoken."*

In later parts of his prophecy, when he would celebrate the triumph of the King Messiah, and the glory of his kingdom, the restoration of fallen Kedar becomes again the theme of the same prophet. "Sing unto the Lord a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein; the isles, and the inhabitants thereof. Let the wilderness, and the cities thereof, lift up their voice, the villages

* Isaiah, xxi. 11—17.

that Kedar doth inhabit: let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains: let them give glory unto the Lord, and declare his praise in the islands."*

In the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, the same prophetic theme returns: Kedar again shines conspicuous among the surrounding nations of Midian and Ephah, of Sheba and Nebaioth: "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar; and I will glorify the house of my glory."†

In the Book of Jeremiah, we find Kedar furnishing similar prophetic imagery and allusions. "For pass over the isles of Chittim, and see, and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently and see, if there be such a thing. Hath *a nation* changed their gods, which are yet no gods?‡ but my people have changed their glory, for that which doth not profit."§ And again: "Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, shall smite, thus saith the Lord: Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the east. Their

* Isaiah, xlii. 10—12. † Isaiah, lx. 7.

‡ This passage clearly proves the *idolatry* of the Kedarites, and, by implication, that of the other Arabs, in very early times; since it was ancient and national in the age of Jeremiah.

§ Jer. ii. 10, 11.

tents and their flocks shall they take away: they shall take to themselves their curtains, and all their vessels, and their camels: and they shall cry unto them, Fear is on every side. Flee, get ye far off, dwell deep, O ye inhabitants of Hazor, saith the Lord: for Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, hath taken counsel against you, and hath conceived a purpose against you. Arise, get you up unto the wealthy nation [Kedar], that dwelleth without care, saith the Lord; which have neither gates nor bars; which dwell alone. And their camels shall be a booty; and the multitude of their cattle a spoil. And I will scatter into all winds them that are in the utmost corners; and I will bring their calamity from all sides thereof, saith the Lord. And Hazor shall be a dwelling for dragons, and a desolation for ever: there shall no man abide there; nor any son of man dwell in it."*

In the famous prediction of Ezekiel against Tyre, Kedar stands conspicuous among the Arab nations, who frequented that mart of the commerce of the ancient world. "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants."†

Before we proceed to illustrate from the classics,

* Jer. xlix. 28—33. † Ezek. xxvii. 21.

and from Arabian history, these scriptural notices of the settlements of Kedar, I would pause on two incidental allusions, in the Book of Isaiah, which may serve to indicate, in a general way, the geographical position of this great Ishmaelite people. In his prediction, entitled "The burden upon Arabia," the object of which is to announce the approaching downfal of the dominion of Kedar before the invading armies of Babylon, the prophet represents the defeated Kedarites as fleeing through "the land of Tema."* The land of Tema, consequently, lay between the Assyrian frontier, on the side of Chaldea and the Euphrates, and the proper country of Kedar: in other words, (the Tema of Scripture being, as will hereafter appear, the same with the Nedjd of the Arabs,) between the country at the head of the Persian Gulf, and the province of Hedjaz, on the coast of the Arabian. The presumption thus afforded by Isaiah, that the seats of Kedar should be sought in this last quarter, receives material confirmation from another place of the same prophet, his description, namely, of the land of Kedar; which every reader conversant with Arabian geography will recognize as a most accurate delineation of the district of Hedjaz, including its famous cities of Mekka and Medina. "Let the

* Isaiah, xxi. 13—15.

wilderness, *and the cities thereof*, lift up their voice; the villages that Kedar doth inhabit. Let the inhabitants of the rock sing; let them shout from the top of the mountains: Let them give glory unto the Lord; and declare his praise *in the islands*."* The agreement of this graphical description with the localities of the Hedjaz is almost too obvious for remark. For, while the voice of Kedar from his rocks and mountains, reaching to the neighbouring islands, plainly denotes his situation along the sea-coast, . . . a sea-coast wilderness or desert, comprizing famous cities, together with rocky mountains interspersed with villages, presents a picture far too uniquely characteristic, to be transferred to any district of the Arabian peninsula, from that quarter, the Hedjaz, to which alone, and at every point, it applies.

The question remains, how far these scriptural landmarks are corroborated by such traces of the name and settlements of Kedar, as I shall now proceed to collect from other sources; from the heathen geographers, and from the native writers. To begin with the existence, in Arabia, of the name and race: this, as a historical fact, stands as well ascertained by the incidental notices of profane history, as by the more direct

* Isaiah, xlii. 11, 12.

testimony of Scripture; especially when it is considered that the classical authorities, where (as might be anticipated) less distinct in their nomenclature, are rightly entitled to be cleared and corrected by comparison with the scriptural. Thus, for the Kedar of the Old Testament, we meet, in Pliny, the Cedrei, Cedareni *, or Gedranitæ, as an Arab tribe or people extant in his day; the first two forms being literally the scriptural name, and the third, a Bedouin modification of it. Uranius, cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, makes mention of the Kerdanitæ or Kedranitæ (manifestly the same people with the Gedranitæ of Pliny): a denomination which, allowing only for the Greek, or rather the Arabic termination, is neither more nor less than Kedarites, Kedarys, or Beni Kedar. Ptolemy places the Darræ (an abridgement only of *K*edarræ, the first syllable being dropt agreeably to a common Arabic usage,) on the very site assigned by Pliny to the Cedrei. On the strength of these authorities, combined with further evidence presently to be obtained from the correction of a misnomer in the Periplus of Arrian, I hope, now, independently to establish the scriptural indications respecting the settlements of Kedar, and

* From the Arabic *Kedaranys*: so, from Kahtan, *Kahtanys*.

to prove that his family has been correctly traced to the Hedjaz.

The geographical position of the Cedareni or Cedrei, has been very definitely laid down by Pliny. With his testimony, therefore, we will commence. Having first described, with great accuracy, the Stony Arabia, or the barren country, stretching from Mount Casius and the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, round the eastern head of the Arabian Gulf, together with the chief tribes inhabiting this wilderness, Pliny adds, "To these adjoin the Arab tribes of the Cauchlei, on the east, of the Cedrei, to the south: both which nations, again, border on the territory of the Nabatæi." * For the position of the Cedrei, in particular, this single passage seems decisive. The Nabathean territory, we know, extended, in a southern direction, considerably beyond the Gulf of Elana or Akaba. The Cedrei, consequently, who, at once, lay south of Arabia Petræa, and adjacent to Nabathea, *must* have inhabited the country enclosed between these boundary lines and the sea; in other words, the province of Hedjaz.

The inference, thus fairly deduced from the statement of Pliny, we find confirmed by a parallel statement of Ptolemy; who places the

* Plin. N. H., lib. v. cap. 12

Darræ precisely in the relative position, assigned, by the Roman geographer, to the Cedrei; namely, on the northern frontier of Hedjaz, and in juxtaposition with the Nabatæi. The similarity of name, and sameness of position, leave no just room to question the identity of the Darræ with the Cedrei; and that of both denominations, again, with the Kedar of Scripture. The reader who may desire further marks of their identity is referred to the modern geography of the Hedjaz; where, in the neighbourbood of Yembo, the line of demarcation is significantly preserved to the present day, in the towns of El Khedheyre and Nabt, the regular Arabic forms of the proper names, Kedar, and Nebaioth.

The identity of the Cedrei of Pliny with the Kedranitæ of Uranius (the real diversity lying, not in the names, but the pronunciation) has not escaped the learned editor of Stephanus.* Pliny himself, indeed, elsewhere speaks of the Kedranitæ, only softened by him into Gedranitæ, after the pronunciation of the Bedouins. By consent of the ancients, the seats of this people have been already fixed in Hedjaz: a location which enables us to correct the text of Arrian, in a place which has hitherto perplexed his com-

* Κεδρανῖται.] Iidem hi videntur, qui a Plinio *Cedrei*, lib. v. cap. 11., appel'antur.

mentators; and, in so doing, to harmonize all the ancient authorities, both with Scripture, and among themselves. Among the Arab tribes inhabiting the mountains of Hedjaz, Arrian distinguishes the most formidable and ferocious by the name of Kanraitæ. Upon this denomination, the learned Hudson justly remarks, that it is not to be found, in any other of the ancient geographers, as the name of a people of Arabia. He proposes, accordingly, the substitution of Kassanitæ; a people placed, by Ptolemy and others, south-east of Mekka, among the inland mountains of Tayf, still called Gazuan. The proposed substitution, however, is wholly inadmissible; since Arrian's Kanraitæ were sea-coast pirates, infamous for their constant interruptions of the commerce of the Arabian Gulf; and seated, apparently, along the mountain chain south of Leuce Kome, or Haura, the emporium of the Nabatheans. Now every difficulty is removed, if we adopt the easy correction of Ka*n*raitæ into Ka*d*raitæ; the same with the Kedranitæ, Gedranitæ, and Cedrei, of Pliny and Uranius, and, yet more obviously, with the Kedar of the Old Testament. The concurrence of name, site, and national character, in this case, supplies an amount of proof as to the identity of the race in question, very rarely to be met with in similar

cases, and sufficient, it is believed, for the satisfaction of most readers.

Thus far we have traced the vestiges of Kedar, by the lights of ancient geography. It remains to be seen what accession of proof may arise, from comparison of the classical indications with the traditions of the Arabs. For, however questionable, in the opinion of European criticism, the unsupported testimony of Arabian tradition, it is plainly impossible, on the received laws of just reasoning, to deny the conclusiveness of its independent concurrence with history, sacred and profane. Now it was the immemorial tradition of the Arabs themselves, that Kedar and his posterity originally settled in Hedjaz. From this patriarch, the tribe of Koreish in particular, the sovereigns of Mekka and guardians of the Caaba, always boasted their descent. And Mahomet himself, in the Koran, upheld his claims to the princely and priestly honours of his race on this very ground, as an Ishmaelite of the stock of Kedar.* A national tradition like this rises into historical autho-

* The name of the tribe, *Koreish*, from which the false prophet immediately descended, is an instance of the ways in which the scriptural names lie hidden under adscititious denominations. قريش Nom. familiæ Arabicæ, scil. filii Naasri fil Kenanæ [Plin. *Canaunak*] ex qua natus fuit Muhammed. Ita dicti, quod circa Meccam *congregati degerent*. — Camus, ap. Gol. in voc.

rity, when sustained, on the one hand, by those scriptural notices, which place Kedar in this very quarter of the peninsula, and, on the other hand, by the unquestioned and unquestionable fact of the existence of the Cedrei, Darræ, Kedranitæ, or Kadraitæ, as a people of the Hedjaz, in the ages of Uranius, Ptolemy, and the elder Pliny.

The province of Hedjaz being thus the ascertained seat of the Kedar of Scripture, the ancient rank and greatness of this people among the nations of Arabia leaves no middle term, between the gratuitous assumption, that the country has altogether changed its population, or the rational conclusion, that its inhabitants, at the present day, are Ishmaelites of the lineage and family of Kedar. If, however, as there is every antecedent ground to believe, the Hedjaz be still chiefly peopled by Kedarite tribes, it must freely be admitted, that these tribes have long laid aside their scriptural patronymic. If we may judge by the silence of Burckhardt on the subject, the name of Kedar, as a national appellative, would seem to have wholly disappeared. The admission, indeed, does not, in the slightest degree, affect the question of the national origin; since change, and subdivision, and multiplication of the names of their families and

tribes, is one of the best known usages of the Arabs. "The small Arab tribes" (observes Colonel Chesney) "have always two names, and not unfrequently four: viz. that of the place they reside at; the name of the tribe itself; the name of the great tribe to which it is tributary; and, finally, that of its own Sheik, used in common parlance: hence there is great difficulty in giving a list, which is not liable to much confusion."* The remark applies equally to the great tribes of the peninsula; who, in addition to the varieties enumerated by this intelligent traveller, are not infrequently denominated from some national characteristic.

Now if, on further investigation, it shall appear, that the race in question comes under this last description; that the chief tribes of the Hedjaz bore in ancient times, and retain in our own, a generic appellative grounded on the character of the race; the separate proofs which serve to establish the descent of the race itself from Kedar remain obviously in undiminished force: while, should the characteristic name be found, on the other hand, to tally and identify itself with the scriptural character of the Kedarites, it becomes a fresh and independent proof of the national origin.

* Reports on the Navigation of the Euphrates, p. 36.

Now Kedar is expressly characterized, in the Old Testament, as a people whose glory, and whose delight, was *war*. Thus the Psalmist: "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech; that I dwell in the tents of Kedar. My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace: but, when I speak, they are for war."* So, again, Isaiah, predicting the burden upon Arabia: "For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail: and the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished: for the Lord God of Israel hath spoken."† These descriptions, coupled with the frequent scriptural allusions to their tents and flocks, prove the Kedarites to have been a Bedouin race, conspicuous, even among the sons of the desert, for the fierceness of the national character, and for their fame in arms: a nation of archers, in a word, the genuine representatives of Ishmael; of whom we read this record, "and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became *an archer*."‡

With these scriptural indications for our guides, we pass now to examine briefly the classical notices of the ancient population of the Hedjaz.

* Psalm cxx. 5—7. † Isaiah, xxi. 16, 17.
‡ Gen. xxi. 20.

From the Greek and Roman geographers we can distinctly collect, that this entire province, from the neighbourhoods of Yembo and Medinah, on the north, to those of Haly and Sabæa, towards the south, was peopled chiefly by two powerful tribes, the Debæ or Dedebæ, and the Cerbani or Carbæ: the former, described as a commercial people, seated along the coast of the Arabian Gulf, between the Thamudites and the Alilæi; the latter, as occupying the country inland, in continuous contact with the Dedebæ, and having the command only of a single port. The detailed adjustment of these tribes belongs to another part of this work. For our proper object in this place, it will be enough to bespeak attention to the facts, ... that the country of the Carbæ or Cerbani appears unquestionably the same with that assigned, by the ancients, to the Cedrei, Kedranitæ, or Kadraitæ, names already sufficiently identified with the scriptural Kedar; and that, like the Kedar of Scripture, the Cerbani or Carbæ, in conjunction with the Hagarites, or Agræi, are characterized by Pliny, on the authority of Ælius Gallus, as distinguished, above all the Arabs, for their fame in arms.

From the national character of this people, as transmitted to us by Pliny, Bochart, with his usual happiness of conjecture, has deduced the

true origin of the name Carbæ, or Cerbani; which he rightly pronounces to be, not a patronymic, but, in the literal sense of the phrase, a *nom de guerre*. "The Hebrew word *Kerab*," observes this great geographer, "signifies *war*, and *Karab*, *to fight*. Those warlike tribes, therefore, whom Ælius Gallus found so superiour in arms to the other Arabs, are justly denominated Carbi, or Cerbani."*

Bochart supposes the name to be of Phœnician origin: but his supposition is erroneous. There exists a conclusive proof, that the name originated with these Arabs themselves; by whom it was assumed, and is still retained, as a national appellative. The author ventures to anticipate the satisfaction, with which the historian, and the geographer, of the present day, will see this point established, and the conjecture of an illustrious scholar converted into a demonstration, by the recovery of the Carbæ or Cerbani, upon the same site, and under the same name, in the great Arab tribe of Harb, or Beni Harb (pronounced Charb in the Arabic), who still compose, as they composed of old, the main population of the Hedjaz. For, while the Carbi or Carbæ of the classics is the most literal transcript possible of the Arabic name Harb; their *Carbani*

* Geograph. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 28.

or *Cerbani* (as in the former example of Katabeni for Beni Kahtan) is merely the inversion of *Beni Harb.*

This restoration, so long undeciphered, so clear and simple when once observed, is submitted as the result of a long and patient collation of the ancient, with the modern geography of the Arabian peninsula. Nor was this result arrived at, until the writer had succeeded in dismissing altogether from his mind the confused and contradictory notions of critics and commentators, respecting this celebrated Arab name and nation. The warlike character of the Carbæ or Cerbani, the probable derivation of the name from the national character, together with the ascertained position of this people in the province of Hedjaz, taken into account, . . . their identity with the Harb, or Beni Harb, of modern Arabia might safely be rested on the proof unconsciously supplied by Burckhardt, in perhaps the most valuable of his Remains, his "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys." The following description of the Beni Harb is taken from his catalogue of the Bedouin tribes:... "From Kasym, towards Medinah and Mekka, except the space occupied by the Meteyr and some encampments of the Heteym, the whole extent of country is inhabited by the mighty tribe of *Harb;* which,

in numbers, only yields to the Aenezes, and, next to them, constitutes the most formidable association of Bedouins in Arabia. From the aggregate of this tribe, there might probably be formed a body, comprising between thirty and forty thousand men armed with matchlocks; and such is the numerical strength of their main tribes, that each of them is rather to be considered as a distinct body; yet the ties which connect the whole body together are much stronger than those, by which the numerous Aeneze tribes are united. Some of the Harbs are settlers; some are Bedouins. Almost every tribe has adopted both modes of life. They derive considerable profit from the Syrian and Egyptian caravans; and may be styled, *the masters of the Hedjaz.* They were the last tribe in these countries that yielded to the Wahabys. They have few horses south of Medinah; but every boy is armed with a matchlock. The Arabs belonging to this tribe of Harb frequently make plundering excursions against the Aenezes, in their camps, as far as the plains of Hauran and Damascus.... It may be here remarked, that the word '*Harb*,' in Arabic, signifies '*War*.'"*

* Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 234.

Thus identified with each other by every kind of proof, by community of name, by coincidence of site, and by the most perfect correspondence in national character and habits, the most hardy scepticism, it may be presumed, will scarcely venture to question, that the Carbæ, or Cerbani, of Greek and Roman antiquity, have here been recovered and brought to light, in the Harb, or Beni Harb, tribes of Hedjaz.

But the same characteristics which thus establish their mutual identity, serve, while so doing, to suggest and sanction the further inference, that the name Carbæ or Harb, avowedly originating in the warlike propensities of the tribe whom it designates, is neither more nor less than the *nom de guerre* of the Ishmaelite race of Kedar: a people famed, in Old Testament history, for their passion for war; and to whom, in the Arabic version of Psalm cxx., the actual denomination *Harb* is applied and appropriated, . . . *Harbuni* (حاربوني), "they *warred*," or "cried out against me *war*."

When, therefore (to resume the evidences as a whole), we find, in Scripture, Kedar coupled with Nebaioth, as neighbouring nations; in the classic geographers, the Cedrei or Kadraitæ joined with the Nabatæi, on the south of Arabia Petræa, or towards Hedjaz; and, among the Arabs them-

selves, a uniform tradition, placing in this province the seats of Kedar, from whom the Koreish of Mekka, the tribe of Mahomet, especially boasted their descent: when, on the other hand, we know the Hedjaz to have been mainly peopled, from remote antiquity to the present day, by the same great tribe of Carbæ or Harb; confessedly a name not belonging to the nation in question as a patronymic, but conferred, or adopted, to denote their ruling passion to be war:... the consent of evidences is such, as to leave room only for the one natural conclusion, namely, that, in "the mighty tribe of Harb," we recover the Kedar of the Old Testament; the genuine posterity of the race so graphically characterized by David, from personal acquaintance with their habits, and not improbably with their name: "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Meseeh, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar: my soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace; but, when I speak, they are for war."*

The Harb nation, as described by Burekhardt,

* 1. Since the Harb Arabs, "the tribe that peoples the Hedjaz," do *not* bear a common family name; 2. since they do bear a common name, not of family, but of national character; 3. since that name (borne for *at least* two thousand years) preserves the very scriptural characteristics of Kedar, and these the same assigned to them by the classic writers;—we plainly possess every kind of proof of which the question is capable, that the name is the *nom de guerre* of Kedar.

is subdivided into, at least, twenty great tribes; distinguished from each other by as many denominations,... family, characteristic, or territorial; and occupying a tract of country, extending, in its greatest length north and south, about seven degrees and a half, between Heymedje, on the borders of Kasym, and Haly, on the confines of Yemen, and, in its greatest breadth east and west, nearly five degrees and a half, from Kasym to El Khedheyre on the coast of Hedjaz. The actual state of this formidable people is, therefore, plainly such, as fully to bear out the scriptural representations of the greatness and glory of Kedar.

The boundaries of Kedar, when once identified with the Harb Arabs, can be fixed with great geographical precision. The Harb of Burckhardt, like the Carbæ of Diodorus and the ancients, still are bounded, towards the south, by the Alilæi, or the people of Haly: while the wholly distinct races of the Meteyr, Ateybe, Beni Sabya, and Beni Kahtan Arabs, (tribes geographically corresponding with the Salapeni, Minæi or Jeraehæi, Sabæi, and Katabeni of the classics, or the Salaph, Jerah, Sheba, and Joktan of the Old Testament,) define now, as of old, the inland limits of this Ishmaelite people.

The title *Beni Harb*, or "sons of war," con-

ecals, it has been shown, the true name and origin of the nation, under the disguise of a characteristic *nom de guerre.* Similar causes of obscurity are multiplied, in the names of its subordinate branches. Thus the Owf, the wildest and most ferocious of the Harb tribes, derive their name from their predatory habits; the term Owf signifying "a lion, who taketh his prey by night."* The Sobh, another branch of the Harbs, are so denominated from their territory, the Sobh mountain, also called Lamlam; the mons Chabinus, or Lœmus mons of the ancients. The known prevalence of a usage like this among the Arabs of the Hedjaz not only accounts for the disappearance of the name of Kedar, as their national denomination, but adds value and authority to any remaining traces of the name, if any such be still preserved, among the Harb. The last-named of their tribes, the Sobh, supply an example in point.

The Sobh and the Owf, we learn from Burck-

* Burckhardt. عَافَ *Obeundo noctu captavit prædam leo.* (Cam. ap. Gol. in voc.) The habits of this tribe, as recorded by Burckhardt, leave no doubt as to the origin of their name. "The name of *Owf* is dreaded as far as Mekka, and particularly by all pilgrims; for they are most enterprizing robbers; and parties of them, amounting to three or four hundred men, have been known *to carry off at night, by force,* valuable loads out of the midst of the encampments of the Hadj."—Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 237.

hardt, inhabit the chain of mountains lying along the coast, between Bedr and Rabegh. This range, as will be elsewhere fully proved, is that where Arrian disposes the Kadraitæ; a race of pirates completely identified, by correspondence, at once, of site and of character, with the actual inhabitants, the Owf and Sobh Harbs.* The

* "Jebel Sub-b is a mountain remarkable for its magnitude and elevation, which is greater than any other between Yembo and Jiddah. Its summit is the strong-hold of a fierce and warlike race of Bedowins (a branch of the great Harb tribe), called Beni Sub-h; who inhabit its fastnesses, and, divided into smaller tribes, rove about in its vicinity. Several of them were pointed out to us at Sherm Bareïkah. The numerous passes by which these mountains are approached have been successfully defended against the Wahhábís, during their late irruption. When the whole of Hejáz submitted to their arms, the Beni Sub-h alone boldly asserted and maintained their independence. Their territory afforded shelter to such of the neighbouring tribes as, with their families and property, were willing to seek their protection. The national independence of the Arabs has been much talked of, but I question if this be not one of the few tribes that has never known a master. At two passes, in the route of the caravan, called Safrá, and Jedídeh, they were less successful. After a long resistance, they surrendered to Sa'úd. It may be remembered, that it was against the latter of these passes, when in the possession of the Wahhábís, that Tusún Páshá received a most signal defeat in 1811. The Arabs permitted his troops to occupy the pass, and then destroyed them with musketry, and rocks hurled down from above. . . . The dominions of the Harb tribe extend from hence to Jiddah, the Zobeïdeh and Tuwál being merely branches of the same race. Their force is calculated at fifty thousand matchlocks; which marks them as one of the most powerful tribes in Arabia. Their habits are predatory and warlike, and their disposition bold and sagacious. In appearance, they are taller and more fleshy than their neighbours of the plains; but, in the form and expression of face, no difference is discernible. Alike the objects of dread and suspicion to the pilgrims, *to the mariners who visit the coast*, and to the neighbouring tribes, they appear to be equally shunned and feared by all. But amidst the mountains, which furnish an

reader may draw his own inference, when it is added, that the Sobh Arabs, according to Burckhardt, "subdivide themselves into the three tribes of Shokbân, Rehálat, and *Khadhera*:" the name of *Khadhera* thus independently establishing the correction of Arrian's text, from Ka*n*raitæ to Ka*d*raitæ; while the ancient and modern name serve to associate, not the Sobh and Owf tribes only, but the whole Harb nation to which they belong, with the Kedar of Scripture. The town of Khedheyre, upon the same coast, north-west of the Sobh mountain, taken in conjunction with this tribe of Khadhera, carries the existing traces of Kedar to the northern frontier of the Hedjaz; the ascertained site of the Darræ, Cedrei, or Kedranitæ, of Ptolemy, Pliny, and Stephanus of Byzantium after Uranius.

abundant supply of fresh water, they are rich in their own resources; possessing numerous flocks of sheep, fertile pastures, a considerable quantity of corn, which they compel their *slaves* to cultivate, and extensive date groves." (Wellsted, Trav. in Arab. ii. 231, 232.) It is impossible to miss the agreements between this description of the Sobh Arabs, and Arrian's brief account of the Kanraitæ on the same ground; *τὰ δὲ ἐπάνω, κατὰ κώμας καὶ νομαδίας οἰκεῖται πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις διφώνοις· οἷς παραπίπτοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πλοου, οἱ μὲν διαρπάζονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ναυαγίων σωθέντες ἀνδραποδίζονται . . . λέγονται δὲ Καυραεῖται.* Slight as is this sketch, it touches, at every main point, Mr. Wellsted's description of the Beni Sobh; their mountain dwelling (*τὰ δὲ ἐπάνω*), their fertile woodland pastures (*νομαδίας*), their fierce character, their piratical habits, and their practice of converting their shipwrecked captives into *slaves* (a practice explained by their employing *slave-labour* in the cultivation of their crops).

The family of Kedar has, thus far, been traced, both in the ancient and in the actual inhabitants of Hedjaz. But, while chiefly seated in this province, the Kedarites, from the prominent place which they occupy in the Old Testament, had evidently extended their influence and dominion over other parts of the Arabian peninsula; and seem to have disputed or divided the supremacy with their elder brethren, the Nabatheans. From the ancient rank and greatness of this people, we may, therefore, reasonably expect traces of the race and name in other quarters of Arabia. The expectation is met, both by the classical, and the modern geography of the country. From the mention of "the tents of Kedar," in the hundred and twentieth Psalm, it is clear, that David found refuge in Kedarite encampments on the borders of Palestine, probably when he fled from Saul into the wilderness of Ziph. Now the fact of the former existence of this tribe in these parts can be doubly shown, from the occurrence of its name as the name of a town, Kedar, Akdar, or El Khudher, on the borders of the Hauran, or the Gilead of Scripture; and from the still more remarkable proof supplied by Burckhardt, when he states, that "the Arabs belonging to the tribe of Harb frequently make plundering excursions against the

Aenezes in their camps, as far as the plains of Hauran, near Damascus." * But the Kedar mentioned in the Old Testament, like the Harb tribes of Hedjaz at this day, was not merely a pastoral, it was also a commercial people.† Accordingly, clear vestiges of this race, under both characters, are visible on the opposite side of the peninsula, from the head down to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, both in ancient and modern geography. Thus, on the Shat-al-Arab, or mouths of the Euphrates, we find, in Ptolemy, the town of Idicara, the same now called by the natives El Kader; while, from Burckhardt, we learn, that this very town is said, by the Arabs themselves, to be the seat of a colony of the Zebeyde from Hedjaz, the chief commercial tribe of the Harb nation. Another settlement of this nation is distinctly indicated by the town of *Graan Harb* (the Coromanis of Ptolemy), a mart of commerce on the Persian Gulf, at the foot of the bay of Koueit. Graan Harb, it will further be observed, is situated in the district of *Hagar*, between the above-named town of *El Kader*, and the city and gulf of *Kadema:* an assemblage of Ishmaelite names historically denoting the origin of these colonies; and, consequently, supplying

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 234.

† Ezek. xxvii. 21.

fresh confirmation of the identity of the Harb Arabs with the famous tribe of Kedar. The last example of a Kedarite settlement on the eastern side of the peninsula, to which I would bespeak attention, occurs on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf. Its whole Arabian side, we have already seen, bears, both in ancient and modern geography, the clearest marks of an Ishmaelite colonization. But, on its southern coast, we recover specific token of a Kedarite settlement, in the town of *Kadara* (now Godo) mentioned by Ptolemy, in the territory of the *Ægæi*, a palpable corruption for *Agræi*, or Hagarites.

The existence of these Kedarite settlements on the Persian Gulf serves not alone to illustrate the scriptural accounts of the ancient greatness of this Ishmaelite race; it also most satisfactorily explains the war of extermination carried on, by the Babylonian empire, against them. The Arabs of the Gulf, in every age, have been at least as noted for piratical as for commercial enterprize. Among these daring tribes, the Kedarites may well be supposed to have been peculiarly obnoxious to the Assyrians: their colonies at the mouths of the Euphrates bringing them into immediate contact with that great empire; while their ports near the mouth of the Persian Gulf enable them to annoy, if not to interrupt,

its commerce, and consequently that of proud Babylon herself. But the ports and colonies on the eastern side of Arabia, were outposts only of the power of Kedar: at the root of which, accordingly, Nebuchadnezzar appears to have struck, by carrying the war across the desert, into the heart of Hedjaz, the mother-country of the tribe.

The stress laid by the prophets on "the glory of Kedar," will more than justify, in the eyes of all actuated by a well informed zeal for the elucidation of the Jewish Scriptures, the care bestowed in this imperfect attempt to trace the history and fortunes of this once celebrated people. By name, by national character, by geographical position, by neighbourhood, at the same time, to the borders of Palestine, and to the frontier of Assyria,... by every proof, in a word, of which the subject is capable, the Kedar of the Old Testament has been here identified with the Carbæ or Cerbani of classical antiquity, or "the mighty tribe of Harb." Mekka, correctly pronounced by the learned to be the Macoraba of Ptolemy, has, from time immemorial, been the metropolis of the Harb nation. We shall now close the topic of Kedar with an etymological proof, that Ptolemy's Macoraba is the original name, of which the Mekka of the Arabs is an idiomatic abbreviation; and that the name of this Kedarite capital, like that of the

tribe itself, is derived from the national passion for war. For *Machoraba* is literally the same word with the Arabic *Mecharab*, "the warlike city," or "the city of war;" in other words, "the city of the Harb." *

ADBEEL.—From the most illustrious and conspicuous of the Ishmaelite tribes, the families of Nebaioth and Kedar, the eye must now be turned to one of the most obscure; the posterity of Adbeel the third son of Ishmael. The bare mention of this patriarch, as the founder of an Arab tribe, is the sole notice of him, or of his family, supplied by Scripture history. Upon the authority of this one notice, however, we may securely pursue our research. The next source of information is Josephus; who, in his commentary on the Mosaic catalogue of the sons of Ishmael, numbers Adbeel among the Ishmaelite tribes actually existing in his time, and peopling and inscribing their names on the vast tract of country between the Nile and the Euphrates. Adbeel being next in seniority to Nebaioth and Kedar, we shall be only following a rule frequently exemplified in the patriarchal stocks, if

* Had *Mecca* been the ancient name, it is most unlikely that the Arabic name of a city so ancient and important could have been unknown to the Greeks; who so accurately preserved the less conspicuous name of *Yathreb* in their *Jathrippa*.

we seek after his primitive seat in the neighbourhood of those of his elder brethren; whose colonies, those of Kedar especially, have been already traced to the Euphrates and Persian Gulf. Now in this last vicinity, and nearly in conjunction with Kedarite settlements, there exists, at the present day, a deeply-imprinted vestige of Adbeel and his posterity, in the name of a channel or inlet at the head of the Gulf, denominated *Chor Abdilla*. If the form of the scriptural name be here slightly altered by anagram, the reader will please to observe, it is by the same anagram employed by Josephus; to whose accuracy of information it bears striking testimony, while itself authenticated in turn, by his authority, as the genuine Ishmaelite proper name. For the A*d*beel of Genesis is written A*b*deel*, in the catalogue of the Jewish historian. When, therefore, we meet the name Chor Abdilla, as that of a harbour on the Persian Gulf, we recover a name proved, by historical authority, to be one with the scriptural, ... a slightly inverted form only of the Adbeel of Moses.

But the verification of the name of Adbeel in this quarter is preliminary only to a still more decisive result; the recovery, namely, of the

* The LXX has the same form of the name, but with a *ν* prefixed — Ναϐδεήλ.

Ishmaelite tribe of Adbeel itself, on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the heart of Yemen. The districts of Yemen, it is now generally known, have always borne the names of the tribes which inhabit them. Among those districts, Niebuhr specifies that of *Beni Abdilla*, the very name just identified, from Josephus, with Adbeel. While to complete, if any thing be wanting to complete, this identification, the district of the Beni Abdilla or Adbeel, lies itself in the immediate neighbourhood of the districts of Hagar, and Wady Nedjran, the seats of the Araganitæ of Ptolemy, or the Hagarites or Hagarenes of Scripture: names (when the ascertained usage of the country in their bestowal is taken into account) conclusively indicating the existence of Ishmaelite colonies in these parts.

The name and tribe of the third of the sons of Ishmael has now been traced, in the modern geography of Arabia, under the very form of anagram in which it is preserved to us by Josephus; and, in both instances of its occurrence, to the midst of ascertained Ishmaelite settlements. It remains to inquire whether any intermediate rays can be thrown, from the Greek or Roman geographers, upon this comparatively obscure people. Now the name of Adbeel, according to

one of the most usual Arabic contractions, seems to be preserved in the Bliulæi, or Biluiæ* of Ptolemy, the initial syllable being omitted: a tribe adjoining the Omanitæ, and west of the Kottabeni; that is to say, on the western side of the mountains of Omân, and in the direction of the southern coast. If the relative positions of Ptolemy, in this instance, be at all correctly stated (and the writer believes they will be found to be so), his Biluiæ or Bliulæi may be the same with the Beni Boo-Allee of Omân: a formidable race of pirates, established about fifty miles inland from Cape Ras al Had; and who, in the nineteenth century, have acquired a fatal celebrity, by the total annihilation of one British expedition, and by their fierce resistance to a second, sent against them from India, to quell their piracies, by destroying their strong-hold in the mountains.

* The *Biluiæ* of Ptolemy appear, from the name, to be a branch of the *Bily* Arabs, a northern tribe of note, mentioned by Burckhardt. But the Bily tribe, it appears from native authorities, were *Ishmaelites*; and, if so, bear, in their name, the evidence of their descent from Adbeel. The Ishmaelitish origin of this tribe, we gather from the joint evidences supplied by Golius and Pocock. They were, according to Arab tradition, a branch of the Beni Kodad; and the Beni Kodad were the descendants of Maad the son of Adnan. بَلِيٌّ i. q. بال Nomen tribus Arabum Kodâatum. (Gi. et Ca. ap. Gol.) "*Adnâno* filii duo, عكّ *Acc*, et معد *Maad*: *Maado* nati قضاعة *Kodâa*, a quo *Kodaenses*."—Poc. Spec. p. 46.

The Beni Boo-Allee Arabs are not confined to the province of Omân. Their settlements can be clearly traced northward, high on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf: where the local denominations, Jezerat Boo-Allee, and Ras Bod-Allee, being the names of a large island, and headland, off this coast, about 86 miles N.N.W. of the Bahrein islands, certify the existence of other, and probably earlier settlements, of this formidable Bedouin tribe. The presumption that the modern name Boo-Allee, or Bo*d*-Allee, may be an idiomatic form of Adbeel, has in its favour the additional consideration, that the island and cape named from this tribe are situated on the coast of *Hagar;* at the central point of Ishmaelite seats of commerce; and in the near neighbourhood of the Beni Temyn (the Themi of Ptolemy), the greatest of the Ishmaelite tribes inhabiting Hagar or Bahrein: a province, the history of whose colonization is marked, at once, and obscured, by the number, and diverse origin of its names; being denominated Havilah, after Havilah, the son of Cush; Hagar, from the mother of Ishmael; Lachsa or El Hassa, whence its people called, by Ptolemy, Iolisitæ; and, lastly, Bahrein, not, as is vulgarly supposed, quite contrary to the fact, from its position between two seas, but from its lying between the

two great deserts, or *seas of sand*, Al Dahna, and Al Ahkaf.

To close this topic with a short summary of results. The name and family of Adbeel, or Abdeel, have been brought to light, in Chor Abdilla, at the head of the Persian Gulf, and in the Beni Abdilla, a district and tribe of Yemen. If the Bliulæi, Biluiæ, or Beni Boo-Allee, of Omân be (as seems not improbable, from the two-fold evidence of site and name) the same with the Beni Adbeel, we regain further vestiges of this race, along a line of Ishmaelite settlements, extending, from the Euphrates, to the neighbourhood of Ras al Had, or the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula. The reader will allow me to strengthen this last probability, by noticing a strongly confirmative circumstance, derived from comparison of Ptolemy with Pliny. In the Arabia of Ptolemy, we find mention of Bilana, or Bilbana, as a city of the Gerræans in the vicinity of their emporium Gerra, on the Persian Gulf. The Gerræans, it has been shown, were Hagarenes; their Ishmaelite matronymic having been anagrammatized, or abridged in pronunciation, in the manner still in use among the Arabs of the Gulf. But, this native usage kept in view, it is obvious, that the name Bilana or Bilbana will alike represent the scriptural,

the classical, and the modern, name, which it is our object to identify with each other: in other words, that it may stand, indifferently, for the city of the Beni Adbeel, of the Biluiæ, and of the Beni Boo-Allee. Now the Bilbana or Bilana of Ptolemy, is, by Pliny, denominated Pallon. And the probability that this denomination is a contraction of Adbeel, or Beni Adbeel, seems converted into proof, when we find it expressly stated, by the Roman geographer, that the city of Pallon was inhabited by the *Agræi*. For its inhabitants once ascertained to be Hagarites by race, the name of their chief town becomes sufficient evidence, that they were Hagarites of the tribe of Adbeel: Bil-Bana being the inversion, merely, of Beni-Adbeel, agreeably to the constant practice of the classic geographers; as in the instances of Kattabeni, for Beni Kahtan; Agubeni, for Beni Ayub; Thaabeni, for Beni Thaaba or Odaib. Examples with which the reader of these pages is already familiar.

MIBSAM.—The vestiges of the name and race of this Ishmaelite patriarch are fewer and more faint than those of any of his brethren.* From the Old Testament, and from Jewish history, we

* Calmet notices the nearest approximation to the name Mabsam, which he discovers in *Mapsa*; a town placed, by Ptolemy, on the boundary line between Arabia Petræa and Palestine.

learn only the bare fact of the existence of Mibsam as an Arab tribe, in the time of Moses, and in that of Josephus. The name in full is legible, neither in the classical, nor in the modern, geography of Arabia. The flexible character of Arab proper names, however, duly considered, the real difficulty in our way will be found by no means so great as the apparent. On the contrary, nothing being more usual among the Arab tribes, than the omission of one or more syllables of their names in common parlance, it may suffice for the recovery of that of Mibsam, if we are able to trace this name in its contracted forms, in the midst of other ascertained Ishmaelite settlements.

Now, in his enumeration of the inland tribes of the peninsula, beginning from the south, or the country of the Homerites, Pliny mentions a people named *Sammei;* whom he places next to the Bachilitæ, or the inhabitants of Beishe. But, in this quarter, about a degree and three fourths south-west of Beishe (called by Ptolemy *Silæum*, doubtless after its inhabitants the Beni *Salem**),

* "The Beni *Salem* tribe, the inhabitants of *Beishe*, who could furnish from eight to ten thousand matchlocks." (Burckhardt's Trav. in Arab. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 384.) The practice, so universal among the Arabs of Yemen, of naming their towns and districts from the inhabitants, leaves no doubt as to the identity of Sylæum with Beishe. Speaking of the immediate neighbourhood of Beishe, Burckhardt remarks, "The country here is called *after the inhabitants*." — Ib. Appendix, p. 381.

we find, in Ptolemy, the town of *Miba* (now Niab); a name which, taken in conjunction with the *Sammei* of Pliny, restores, in its unaltered integrity, the Mibsam of Scripture and Josephus; while either of these abridgements would suffice, in perfect conformity with established Arab usage, to represent, taken singly, the patriarchal name. If, as the names and position concur to argue, the Miba of Ptolemy be the seat of the Sammei of Pliny, the original proper name becomes restored in full, in the joint names of the town, and of the tribe inhabiting it.

MISHMA. — This patriarch, like his brethren Adbeel and Mibsam, is mentioned in Scripture, only in the catalogues of the sons of Ishmael, as the founder of a tribe or nation. No further notice of the name or race occurs in the sacred writers.* The Mishma of Genesis and 1 Chronicles, is Masma in the LXX. In this form, Josephus preserves the name, in his catalogue; where he speaks of Masmaos as the progenitor of an Arab tribe, extant in Arabia in his own age. In the case of Adbeel, owing to idiomatic changes, familiar to the Arabs, but foreign from European usage, the verification of the name and tribe has

* The notices, and the silence, of Scripture, respecting the Arab tribes, are regulated by the nearness, or the remoteness, of their relations with Palestine and the Jews.

been attended with some difficulty. But, in the present example, the Mishma of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Masma of the LXX version, and the Masmaos of Josephus, is preserved by heathen authority, in the original form, in the *Masæmanes* of Ptolemy. So far as the evidence of a common name is concerned, the relation between the Masma of the Alexandrine translators, and the Masæmanes of the Alexandrine geographer, is one, not of resemblance only, but of identity: the apparent difference being wholly in the Arabic idiom; which, from Beni Masma, would form *Masmanys.** Assuming the point, therefore, that we possess the Masma of Genesis and Josephus in the Masæmanes of Ptolemy, I shall go on at once to fix the classical position of this Ishmaelite people; and, in so doing, to establish its identity with a powerful Bedouin tribe, who occupy, at the present day, the site of the Masæmanes.

From the statement of their site by Ptolemy, and his arrangement of the surrounding localities, the position of the Masæmanes can be ascertained with great geographical exactness. For he places this people in the vicinity of Mount Zametas (elsewhere identified with the Mesha of Moses), to the east of the Nabatheans, and ad-

* So *Kahtanys* from *Kahtan*.

joining the Vadeni or Uadeni. The Mount Zames or Zametas of the classics forms the head of the great central chain of Nedjd, or the mountain range in the neighbourhood of Ramah; and the Uadeni of Ptolemy, are the inhabitants of Wady Sarr, a broad and fertile valley, of five days' journey in length, running under the mountains in a south-eastern direction, across the desert of Woshem towards Deraié (the Idara of Ptolemy), which has acquired a short-lived celebrity as the capital of the Wahabys. Now in this very direction, or north of Wady Sarr, and of the head of the central chain above Ramah, occur, in the modern geography of this part of Arabia, the town of *Saman*, and the powerful Bedouin tribe of the Beni *Shaman* or *Saman* (the *Sameni* of Stephanus): a national appellative, which requires only the restoration of the initial syllable, so commonly omitted in Arab proper names, to give us back, unchanged, the Masæmanes of Ptolemy, the Masmaos of Josephus, the Masma of the LXX, and the Mishma of the Hebrew Scriptures. The perfect coincidence between Ptolemy and Burckhardt, as to the site of this nomade people, leaves nothing wanting to the proof arising from coincidence of name. It seems not unlikely that the Zames of the ancients may have derived its name from that of its inhabi-

tants, the Beni Shaman: if so, its scriptural denomination, Mesha, may be itself an idiomatic corruption of Mishma.

The geographical position of the Beni Shaman, together with their Ishmaelite origin, shall now, in conclusion, be illustrated from a passage of Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia; describing the settlements and alliances of the great Bedouin tribes, who inhabit, or frequent Nedjd. In this passage, the Meteyr Arabs, who appear by their situation to be identical with the Salapeni of Ptolemy, or the Salaph of the Old Testament, are mentioned as allies of the Beni Kahtan, or Joktanite Bedouins from the south; and the Beni Shaman, on the other hand, as confederates of the Aeneze, an Abrahamic, or Edomite tribe (as will hereafter be shown) of the great northern desert: their respective alliances strongly indicating the different origins of these hostile races.

"Previously to the Wahaby establishment, the pasturage of Nedjed belonged exclusively to the Aenezes; which I have already mentioned as the largest of all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia. Great numbers of them frequented this territory in spring; and kept off all the other tribes, except the powerful Meteyr, who reside in the desert between Kasym and Medina. These strengthened their party by an alliance with the

Kahtan Arabs; while the Aenezes were assisted by the Beni Shaman. Between these tribes, an inveterate hatred subsisted; which, every spring, was the cause of much bloodshed, and checked the commercial intercourse with the Hedjaz."*

The laws of hereditary feud among the Arab tribes considered, the inveterate hate, and incessant hostilities, between these opposed confederacies, bespeaks, perhaps as significantly as their names and sites, a diversity of origin: while, in the case of the Beni Shaman in particular, the collective proofs of their being Ishmaelites of the stock of Mishma, are materially strengthened by the fact, that this tribe is seated in the midst of other Ishmaelite nations; the great tribe of Temyn, in particular, (the Tema of Genesis, xxv. 15., the Teman of Baruch, the Theman of Josephus, the Thimanei of Pliny, and Themi of Ptolemy,) on every side intermingling with, and spreading round the Beni Shaman; north and south, towards the opposite deserts of Al Dahna, and Al Ahkaf; eastward, to the shores of the Persian Gulf; and westward, to the borders of Kedar and Nebaioth.

Few inquiries of this nature, it is believed, afford a more easy or natural combination of proofs, than that by which we have thus been

* Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.

enabled to trace the Mishma * or Masma of the Old Testament, through the Masmaos of Josephus, the Masæmanes of Ptolemy, and the Sameni of Stephanus of Byzantium, to the Beni Saman or Shaman Arabs of Nedjd.

DUMAH.—Excepting in the enumeration of the families of Ishmael, in the Books of Genesis, and of 1 Chronicles, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we have seen, are altogether silent, respecting the Arab tribes descending from Adbeel, Mibsam, and Mishmah; whose after-existence, as distinct nations, in the absence of that highest authority, we have had to ascertain by a critical collation of the testimony of Josephus, with the classical, and with the modern denominations of the tribes of Arabia. In the case of Dumah the fifth brother, on the other hand, the witness originally borne by the Mosaic history is followed up by the testimony of the prophetic Scriptures. The prophet Isaiah verifies the contemporary existence of Dumah, as a people of Arabia, by making the fortunes of this tribe special subject of prediction; while the prediction throws light, at the same time, on its geographical position, by

* A very decided record of the scriptural name, and indication, in that quarter, of a colony from Mishma, is in existence on the African side of the Arabian Gulf, in the name Sherm *'Abú Mismish*; a port or anchorage on the coast of Nubia, N. of Berenice.—See Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 359.

very plainly indicating the neighhourhood of Dumah to Mount Seir, and the existence of political relations between this Ishmaelite stock and its kindred of the race of Esau. "The burden of Dumah. He calleth to me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night. If ye will inquire, inquire ye: return, come."*

The passage is obscure; but it clearly establishes two points: 1. the existence of Dumah, in the age of Isaiah, as a prominent Arab tribe; and, 2. that Dumah and Edom were neighbouring and allied nations. The allusion to "Seir," in the prophecy, further suggests the inference, that the seat of Dumah must have lain on the original line of the Ishmaelite settlements between Shur and Havilah, and in the direction more of Egypt than of Assyria. In the very line and direction thus indicated by the prophecy, we discover, accordingly, this Ishmaelite name and nation, in Ptolemy and Pliny, on the one hand, in d'Anville and Gibbon, on the other. The sceptical historian of the Roman empire, indeed, has collected vouchers for the existence of Dumah as an Arab tribe, more than sufficient to satisfy any mind but his own. Speaking of human sacrifices, he observes, "The cruel practice was long pre-

* Isaiah, xxi. 11, 12.

served among the Arabs: in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the *Dumatians.... Dumætha* (Daumat al Gendal) is noticed by Ptolemy and Abulfeda*; and may be found in d'Anville's maps, in the mid-desert between Chaibar and Tadmor."†

Daumat or Dumah (the different forms being only different pronunciations of the scriptural name), a town on the Djebel Shammar, is here identified, by Mr. Gibbon, with the Dumætha of Ptolemy, as the seat of the Dumatians; an Arab tribe of unquestionable antiquity, since it was, at least, ancient enough to have been infamous for its human sacrifices in the third century.

But the town of Daumat al Gendal is situated in the very line of country, which Moses has assigned as the primitive settlements of the sons of Ishmael. It is situated, also, in the very neighbourhood and direction, to which Isaiah's

* Also by Pliny... *Domatha.* (Lib. vi. cap. 32.) His name for its inhabitants, the *Hemuatæ*, is probably a corruption of *Dumatii.*

† Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 248. By Abulfeda, it is described more accurately, as on the boundary line between Syria and Irac; and its site is defined, by the relative distances from Damascus and Medina:

ودومة الجندل وهو موضع فاصل بين الشام والعراق علي سبع مراحل من دمشق وعلي ثلث عشرة مرحل من المدينة ✡

Descript. Arab. ap. Huds pp. 13, 14.

Pocock represents correctly, after the Arabic original, the scriptural name, as it is literally preserved there: "*Duma*, vel Daumato 'l jandal." — Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 41.

prophecy, entitled "The burden of Dumah," apparently points; or towards the land of Edom, and (as will hereafter be shown) in the midst of the great Edomite tribes. When, therefore, we have the authority of Scripture, and of Jewish history, for the existence, from the time of Moses to that of Josephus, of the posterity of Dumah, as an Arab tribe or nation; when, again, from the age of Josephus down, we meet repeated mention, in heathen writers, of Dumah or Dumætha, and the Dumatii, as a principal city and people of the great northern desert; and, lastly, when we find the identity of Dumetha with Daumat al Gendal, and of the ancient Dumatii with the inhabitants of this place, recognized, as plain matter of fact, even by the scepticism of Gibbon, . . . the consent of evidences becomes conclusive; and the Dumah of Scripture, the Dumatii of the classics, and their descendants the inhabitants of Dumat al Gendal, stand mutually identified as one and the same Ishmaelite people.

Conformably with a very common usage of the Arabs, however, the tribe of Dumah, like that of Kedar, appears to have laid aside its patronymic, to assume a *nom de guerre*. For the Dumatians of Porphyry are denominated, by the early Mahometan writers, "the tribe of Calb;" a race noted in pagan Arabia for the worship of Wadd,

an idol supposed to signify the heaven, under the form of a man. The Arabic word Calb, or Kelb, signifies *a dog*. That the appellative was assumed, or bestowed, to characterize the race, seems evident from Burckhardt's notice of this tribe of Kelb, in another quarter of the peninsula. "Adjoining the Dowaser, but I cannot exactly ascertain in what direction, are the Beni Kelb: Bedouins, of whom many absurd fables are related in the Hedjaz. Thus it is said, the men never speak Arabic, but bark like dogs; a notion, perhaps, arising from the name Kelb, which signifies a dog."* These Beni Kelb, in common with their namesakes, the Calb tribe of Daumat al Gendal, I conclude to be Ishmaelites of the stock of Dumah, who had emigrated towards Yemen; where we find, in the classical geographers, and in the maps of Niebuhr and d'Anville, unequivocal traces of colonies of the race of Ishmael, under the generic name of Hagarenes.

The *nom de guerre* of Dumah, like that of Kedar, I would now, in conclusion, observe, may be traced in Scripture. The assumption of the title Calb or Kelb as a national appellative, most probably as the war-cry of the tribe, derives striking illustration from the fifty-ninth Psalm; where

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 385.

the Psalmist compares the clamours of his enemies to the yells of the assailants of a besieged city: "They return at evening: they *make a noise like a dog*, and go round about the city." And again: "And at evening let them return; and let them *make a noise like a dog*, and go round about the city."* *Kalb* or *Kelb* is the expression here used, both in the Hebrew, and in the Arabic version. In this picture of the horrours of a night assault, headed most probably (as in the final siege of Jerusalem) by Arab hordes †, David describes the war-cry of the enemy, by its likeness to the barking or howling of a dog. Whether the sound was literally imitated or not, the comparison sufficiently indicates the origin of the adoption, by the ferocious tribe of Dumah, of the title *Beni Kelb*.‡

MASSA. — Except in the generations of Ishmael, Gen. xxv. and 1 Chron. i., Massa and his posterity are not specifically noticed in the Old Testament; being included, we may safely assume, in after times, under the generic name of

* Psalm lix. 6. 14.

† Compare Psalm lxxxiii. 6. So, when Tacitus is about to describe (not like the unfeeling sceptic, without emotion) *famosæ urbis supremum diem*, the hostile Arab bands stand prominent in the foreground: Validaque et, solito inter accolas odio, infensa Judæis Arabum manus. — Hist. lib. v. § 1.

‡ *Kelb Hauran* is the name of a locality in Burckhardt's map of Syria: not improbably a settlement of the tribe of Dumah.

Hagarites or Hagarenes. The existence of the tribe, however, is stated by Josephus; and his statement is corroborated most satisfactorily by the Arabian geography of Pliny and Ptolemy. In Pliny, we recover the name and tribe of Massa, in unaltered integrity, in the *Masæi* Arabes, a nomade tribe of Mesopotamia: in Ptolemy, we have a double index, equally direct and literal, to the name and race, in the *Masani*, a people in the heart of the Ishmaelite settlements bordering on the Euphrates and Havilah; and in the *Massonitæ*, a tribe seated in the neighbourhood of his Saritæ and Araganitæ, (the districts of Al Saruat and Wady Nedjran, in Yemen,) in other words, of settlements of "the Edomites and Hagarenes."*

The site of the Masani of Ptolemy, towards the eastern termination of the bounds assigned by Moses as those of the families of the twelve sons of Ishmael, is most valuable in point of evidence: 1. as confirming the proof arising from identity of name, as to the descent of this people from Massa the son of Ishmael; and, 2. as contributing to establish, by historical proof, the Mosaic statement itself, which peoples the neck of the Arabian peninsula, from Shur to Havilah,

* Psalm lxxxiii. 6.

with twelve tribes descending from the twelve sons of Ishmael.

The true value of the latter point can be duly estimated by those only, who reflect, that these patriarchs and their families can be traced, throughout the Mosaic limits, from Nebaioth to Kedemah; from the seat of the first-born, at the head of the Arabian, to that of the youngest, at the head of the Persian, Gulf. Each separate verification, consequently, stands authenticated, not only by its own proofs, but also by its relation to the collective evidences by which it is surrounded: each tribe, in its turn, having eleven collateral arguments for its descent, in as many tribes bearing the names of the other sons of Ishmael. Thus stated, the proof amounts to historical demonstration.

HADAR or HADAD.—The Hadar of Genesis is written Hadad in 1 Chronicles. In like manner, we find Hadarezzar, and Hadadezzar, used indifferently as the name of one of the kings of Zobah.* Unless under the general name of Agræi, Agaranitæ, or Hagarenes, the posterity of Hadad do not subsequently appear among the tribes of Arabia, either in the Old Testament, or in the classic geographers. That they *were* included, however, under that generic name, can be

* 2 Sam. viii. 3., 1 Chron. xviii. 3.

proved in the clearest manner, by the concurrent evidences of Mahometan history, and of the modern geography of the country. Al Djeuhary, a Mahometan writer of the tenth century cited by Golius, expressly mentions Hadad, as an extant Arab tribe. The position of this tribe has been brought to light by the researches of Niebuhr; in whose map of Yemen (where the towns and districts are named after the inhabitants) we find the town of Hadédda, situated in the Djebel, or hill country. The proof of the genuine Ishmaelite origin of this town and tribe is completed by the nomenclature of the surrounding localities: for Hadédda is seated in the district of *Hagar*, and adjacent to the valley and river of Wady Schab * El Hagar (*the valley of the people of Hagar*): denominations self-identified with the seats of the Araganitæ or Agaranitæ; an Ishmaelite race occupying, in the age of Ptolemy, the same site, or the neighbourhood of his Climax mons; and comprizing, besides that of Hadad, the tribes, or rather branches of the tribes, of Mibsam and Massa; the Sammei of Pliny, and Ptolemy's Massonitæ.

But, while the authority of Scripture, and of

* شعب *Populus:* Tribus magna et *primaria*, PRIMI PATRIS *nomine insignis*. (Gi. ap. Gol.) The definition most strikingly brings home the *origin* of the denomination شعب الهجر.

Josephus, in numbering Hadad among the tribes founded by the sons of Ishmael, is thus strikingly illustrated, by the existence, at this day, of the Beni Hadad of Yemen, it remains to be shown that these Beni Hadad are a branch only, or colony, from the parent tribe, whose seat is to be sought and found in the proper land of Ishmael, the country between Shur and Havilah. In this quarter, accordingly, or on its eastern border, beyond the Euphrates, we recover, in Niebuhr's "Description de l'Arabie," the great Bedouin tribe *El Hadidiin;* whose main station is the desert of Bagdad, or the country between the Zab and Tigris, over which they wander with their flocks; but whose encampments are said to extend as high north as the neighbourhood of Aleppo. The proper names *Hadad* and *Hadidiin* being the same, differenced only by nunnation, as singular and plural, the identity of this Arab tribe with the Hadad of Scripture and Josephus, on the one hand, and with the Beni Hadad of Hagar in Yemen, on the other, appears alike unquestionable; and thus these genuine Ishmaelites are traced through their wanderings, from the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, to the vicinage of the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

The Beni Hadad of Yemen, it has been already observed, agree, in their geographical

position, with Ptolemy's Araganitæ. The observation may be repeated of the Hadidiin of the great northern desert; who, on the joint evidence of their site and name, must be classed (like their brethren of old, Jetur, Nephish, and Kademah) among the Ishmaelite tribes of those parts, styled generically, in Scripture, Hagarites, and, by the classic geographers, Agræi.

The fact, that the people denominated Agræi by the Greeks and Romans were an assemblage of associated Ishmaelite tribes, is determined once for all, by the narrative in the fifth chapter of 1 Chronicles: where the Agræi or Hagarites are first introduced under their generic matronymic, and then specifically subdivided into the tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab or Kedemah; the families of the youngest three sons of Ishmael. This narrative at once overthrows the absurd theory of some learned men, who have gratuitously supposed the Hagarites or Hagarenes to be the descendants of Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, not by Abraham, but by another father.

TEMA.—This name has been transmitted by Scripture and the ancients, in no fewer than four different forms; all the differences, however, arising from variety of pronunciation, and reducible to the original Hebrew. Thus, the Tema of the

Old Testament, is written Thaiman in the LXX, Themanos by Josephus, and Thema by St. Jerome. The reader will attend to these variations: for they may prove important guides, in our researches after the family of this son of Ishmael; which we are clearly entitled to look for under the ascertained changes of the name.

Next to Nebaioth and Kedar, Tema ranks most conspicuous among the Ishmaelite patriarchs. His name, as well as theirs, reappears in the prophetic Scriptures, as the national denomination of a great Arab tribe. "The troops of Tema" are also alluded to in the book of Job. While, from the repeated notices of it, both in the classical geographers, and by native writers, this wide-spread and formidable Ishmaelite people would seem, from the earliest times, scarcely to have yielded in renown to the Nabatheans or Kedarites themselves; to whom, as will presently appear, they lay in juxtaposition in the western direction, while their eastern frontier rested on the Persian Gulf.

But, before we proceed to trace the family, and to ascertain the geographical boundaries, of the Ishmaelite Tema, there is one essential preliminary to this inquiry. The occurrence, in Scripture history, of two Abrahamic patriarchs, and of their respective posterities, bearing the

same name, . . . Tema, the son of Ishmael, and Teman, one of the grandsons of Esau, . . . renders it necessary, at the outset, rightly to discriminate between these distinct stocks. Nor is the task difficult. For the name of the son of Eliphaz, and of his descendants, is uniformly written Tema*n*, in the original Hebrew; and that of the son of Ishmael and his family, as uniformly, Tema. Each mention, again, of the Edomite Teman, is coupled with allusions to Esau, or to the land of Edom: whereas Tema seems distinctively classed with the mingled people inhabiting the wilderness, in other words, with the inland tribes of the great northern desert. Teman, lastly, lay so near to the Red Sea, that his fall is figuratively said, by the prophet, *to be heard in it:* while Tema, on the contrary, was so situated between Kedar and Assyria, or the Hedjaz and the line of the Euphrates, that this tribe is prophetically represented as affording shelter and refreshment to their fainting brethren, the Kedarites, when fleeing before the victorious armies of Nebuchadnezzar. When, to these discriminating circumstances, is added the more direct evidence of a passage from Baruch, which decisively identifies the people of Teman, on the eastern side of the peninsula, with the Ishmaelites

or Hagarenes, we seem sufficiently prepared to investigate the traces of this Ishmaelite stock, as contradistinguished from the posterity of Teman, the grandson of Esau.

To begin with the Scripture evidences. Besides the testimony of Moses, repeated by the author of 1 Chronicles, to the existence of an Arab nation, descendants of Tema the ninth son of Ishmael, we have three several allusions to this Ishmaelite tribe, in the books of Job, of Isaiah, and of Jeremiah.

The allusion in the Book of Job involves the question of the country of that patriarch; which commentators have generally supposed to lie contiguous to Palestine, in the land of Edom properly so called; but which a comparison of the scriptural with the classical landmarks, and of the ancient with the modern geography of the Desert Arabia, very clearly shows to have been situated towards the opposite, or eastern side of the peninsula, in the neighbourhood of Chaldea and the Euphrates. The consideration of this question belongs to another place. It will be treated of under the "Settlements of Esau." *

The reference to Tema, in Job, occurs in one of the finest images of that sublime book:

* Part I. Section V.

"The troops of Tema looked;
The companies of Sheba waited for them:
They were confounded, because they had hoped;
They came thither, and were ashamed." *

In this passage, which describes the disappointment of fainting travellers in the desert, on finding the waters of the torrents, on which they depended for supply, unexpectedly dried up, the Bedouin hordes of Tema are finely contrasted with a Sabean caravan. That the Tema here introduced was an Ishmaelite tribe, is clear from the fact, that, in the Book of Job, Tema and Teman *both* occur, manifestly as distinct names and tribes. Eliphaz the Temanite, one of the interlocutors, bears, in his own name, and in that of his country or tribe, a two-fold stamp of descent from Esau; Teman being the eldest son of Eliphaz his first-born. When, therefore, after mention like this of the Edomite tribe of Teman, Tema is separately noticed by the patriarch of Uz, we must conclude the reference to be made to the tribe from Ishmael.

But the distinctness of the two people is marked by Scripture, in the names of their respective countries, no less than in those of the tribes themselves; the seat of the Edomite Teman being styled "The land of *Temani:*"

* Job, vi. 19, 20.

that of the Ishmaelite Tema, "The land of Tema."

Thus Isaiah:

"The inhabitants of *the land of Tema* brought water to him that was thirsty:
They prevented with their bread him that fled." *

From this reference we learn the geographical position, while we infer the Ishmaelitish origin, of Tema: "the land of Tema," spoken of by the prophet, in the connection in which he introduces mention of it, necessarily lying between the Assyrians and the Kedarites of Hedjaz. †

The prophet Jeremiah supplies the last example of scriptural allusion to Tema. And his notice of this tribe confirms the inference suggested by those of Isaiah and Job; since it explicitly contradistinguishes Tema from Edom. The enumeration of the nations can be made fully intelligible, only by placing before the reader

* Isaiah, xxi. 14.

† For the site of Tema, and an excellent comment on Isaiah, xxi. 13—15., see Heeren's Historical Researches, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108. The common site of the Tema of the prophet, and of the modern Beni Temin, "on the western border of Nejed," demonstrates the identity of the latter with that Ishmaelite tribe.

The debt of geographical science to Scripture is set in its just light by M. Heeren. Speaking of Isaiah, xxi. 13—15., Ezekiel, xxvii. 15., and similar places of the O. T., he remarks: "These passages of the prophets are of the greater importance, from the seldomness with which *caravans* are mentioned by historical writers. *It is from* THEM, *and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world.*" — Ut supr. i. 108. note.

this most remarkable piece of sacred geography, as a whole. "Then took I the cup at the Lord's hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me: Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, an astonishment, an hissing, and a curse; as it is this day: Pharaoh king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people: and all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Ashkelon, and Azzah, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod; *Edom*, and Moab, and the children of Ammon; and all the kings of Tyrus, and all the kings of Zidon, and the kings of the isles which are beyond the sea: Dedan, and *Tema*, and Buz, and all that are in the utmost corners; and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert; and all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes; and all the kings of the north, far and near, one with another; and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth: and the king of Sheshak shall drink after them."*

From these scriptural notices, taken collectively, it seems obvious to infer, that the Tema

* Jer. xxv. 17—26.

here spoken of was a Bedouin tribe, descended from Tema the son of Ishmael; and that this tribe lay east of Kedar, in the direction of Assyria; a position accurately corresponding with the central province of Nedjd. Let us now examine whether, and how far, these inferences are illustrated and confirmed by the classical, and by the modern topography of Arabia.

Among the classical authorities, Pliny, in this instance, claims our earliest notice. His statement is remarkable, equally, for its definiteness and its correctness. Treating of the inland districts of the peninsula, Pliny affirms, on the authority of ancient writers, that the Thimanei formerly lay adjacent to the Nabatheans *; and were masters of the entire tract of country, in his day occupied by the Saraceni, or Saracens, the Thabæni, or Beni Thai, and the Suelleni. The country thus described, as anciently the seat of the Thimanei, geographically corresponds with the inland districts of Belad Shammar, Kasym, and Nedjd. The statement of Pliny, respecting its ancient inhabitants, is corroborated incidentally by Ptolemy; in whose Arabian geography we find the city of Thema or Tema, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nabatæi, and in the territory of the Saraceni. It is more fully

* Nabatæis Thimaneos junxerunt veteres. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. § xxxii.

confirmed by Agatharchides, who has left a geographical description of the country of the *Buthemanei* (a palpable corruption of the text, for Beni Themanei, or Boo Themanei) * accurately tallying, in site, with that of Pliny's Thimanei, and, in features, with the country south of Djebel Shammar, and other districts of Nedjd.

But, while the Ishmaelite tribe of Tema, under the denomination of Thimanei, or Boo Themanei, can thus be traced, in Pliny and Agatharchides, to the border of the Nabatheans, this widely-spreading stock are to be found, in the geography of Ptolemy, extending, under the name of Themi, to the shores of the Persian Gulf. The identity of the Themi of Ptolemy with the Thimanei of Pliny may, for the present, be assumed. The proofs of this identity, and of the common derivation of both names from the Ishmaelite Tema, will arise naturally as we proceed, and will speak for themselves.

The Themi of the Alexandrine geographer lay along the coast of the Persian Gulf, opposite to

* Μετὰ τὸν καλούμενον Λαιανίτην κόλπον, ὃν Ἄραβες περιοικοῦσιν, ἡ Βυθημανεών ἐστι γῆ, πολλή τε καὶ πεδιὰς, καὶ πᾶσα κατάβρυτος καὶ βαθεῖα· ἀγρώστει δὲ μόνον καὶ μηδικῇ, καὶ λωτῷ βάθος ἀνδρόμηκες ἔχοντι, πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῇ περιγράφεται· ἕτερον δὲ γεωργεῖ οὐδέν· διὸ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγρίαι κάμηλοι, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων ἀγέλαι, συχναὶ δὲ ποίμναι προβάτων, καὶ ἀμύθητος ἀριθμὸς ἡμιόνων καὶ βοῶν. (Agatharch. De Rubr. Mar. ap. Hudson, p. 57, 58.) Burckhardt himself could not describe more graphically the deep pastures, and the ample flocks and herds of Nedjd.

the ancient Tylos, or the Bahrein islands. Their boundaries, north and south, can be ascertained, with great accuracy, from the three towns, or cities, which Ptolemy specifies as included in their territory. These towns are, Thar or Ithar (Tarut); Istriona (probably the modern Katiff); and Magorum Sinus (obviously the Magas of Abulfeda). The ancient Themi, therefore, extended coastwise, from the mouth of the Astan river (the site of Thar or Tarut) to the town and port of Magas, lying about half a degree north of Tylos or Aval, the chief of the Bahrein islands.

While the Themi of the classical geographers stretched east and west, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Nabathean frontier, the line of their settlements or encampments, from north to south, appears to have been, at least, equally elongated. For, in the Géographie Ancienne of d'Anville, we find this great tribe extending northward to the desert of Al Dahna; and, in his map of Arabia, we trace it southward, in the town and district of *Temen*, to the confines of the vast southern desert of El Ahkaf, or to the southern extremity of the province of Nedjd.

With these collective data before us, we are amply prepared to pursue the vestiges, if any vestiges still remain, of the Tema of the Old

Testament, and the Themi of classical antiquity, in the modern geography of Arabia. And, if there be any value in the proof arising from the joint evidences of identity of name, and sameness of geographical positions, transmitted in unbroken continuance from remote antiquity to the present day, then are both Tema and the Themi clearly identified with the great Arab tribe of Beni Temin or Temim; whose actual settlements coincide, both generally in extent and direction, and circumstantially in all the ascertainable localities, with theirs. The ancient Themi, according to M. d'Anville, were partly seated in the Desert Arabia*, the primitive site of all the Ishmaelite tribes: the Beni Temin, according to Abulfeda, were situated centrally in the great northern desert; where the town of Odaib, (the Dinhabah of Scripture, and the Thauba of Ptolemy,) about two degrees E. N. E. of Daumat al Gendal, ... the first watering-place on the road from Cufa to Mekka, ... was in his time, as it still continues, in possession of this tribe.† The town of Tima, again, (the Thema

* "La tribu des Beni Temim, qui occupe une partie du désert, peut trouver son nom dans celui des *Themi*, entre plusieurs autres que fournit Ptolémée." — Géograph. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 250.

† العديب ... وهو ما لبني تميم وهو اول ما يلقي الانسان بالباديه اذا صار بين بادية اكوفه يريد مكه

Descript. Arab. p. 6. ap. Hudson, G. V. Min. tom. iii.

of Ptolemy), in the vicinity of Belad Shammar, and on the Nabathean frontier, strongly elucidates and verifies the statement of Pliny already noticed, which joins the Thimanei to the Nabatheans; while the fact of their being adjoining tribes is still more decisively apparent at another point of their common boundary, the neighbourhood of Mount Zametas, or of the northern head of the great Nedjd chain. For Ptolemy, on the one hand, extends the Nabatæi to the western foot of Mount Zames; and Abulfeda, on the other hand, acquaints us that Ramah (the Marata of Ptolemy), seated on this mountain, was the *last* frontier town of the Beni Temin, towards Mekka, on the west.* The extension of the Thimanei or Themi (now fairly identified with the Beni Temin) in a southern direction, a point less clearly defined by the ancient geographers, is determined by the modern geography of central Arabia: where the tribe of Temyn inhabiting the town and district of Temen (apparently the capital of the Agarena of Strabo) is to be found seated at the southern extremity of Nedjd, upon the borders of the desert of Ahkaf.

* ورامه منزله في طريق مكه من البصره وهي عن البصره علي اثني عشره مرحلة وهي اخر بلاد بني تميع

Descript. Arab. pp. 11, 12.

But it is on their eastern frontier, within the Ishmaelitish province of Hagar, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, that the fullest proof can be had of the identity of the classical Thimanei or Themi, both with the scriptural Tema, and with the modern Beni Temin. For the mutual identification of the Themi and Beni Temin, it will suffice to remark, 1. That the district of Hagar, including the cities of Ithar or Tarut, and Magorum sinus or Magas, which Ptolemy has described as the territory of the Themi, proves to have belonged, from time immemorial, to the Beni Temin Arabs of Bahrein: 2. That the name Magorum sinus, as that of a city of the Themi, evidently implies the introduction, among these Arabs, of the religion of the Persian Magi; while we know, on the other hand, from unquestionable authorities*, that the Beni Temin of Bahrein, the actual possessors of Magas, were, before the time of Mahomet, devoted disciples and adherents of the Magian superstition. The Themi thus shown to be the same tribe with the Beni Temin, it remains only to bring home the proof of the filiation of this people, as the posterity of Tema the son of Ishmael. This end may, in conclusion, be attained, by the adduction of a single authority, that of a passage from

* Poc. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 141. Sale's Prelim. Diss. p. 28.

the Book of Baruch. A few words of preliminary remark will be required to illustrate the geographical allusions.

Among the principal towns of Hagar or Bahrein, Pliny makes mention of Muranimal; a city seated upon a river (supposed to be the reappearance of a subterranean branch of the Euphrates), and peopled by the Agræi or Agarenes. Now the *M*uranimal of Pliny is proved, by the joint evidence of their proper name and site, to be the same with Borani, or Al-*B*orani *, a place near a branch of the Euphrates long since dried up, but noticed, by the Portuguese traveller Texeira, as anciently permeating the whole province of Bahrein. With these explanatory notices of the place and its inhabitants in his view, the reader will now peruse the following very remarkable passage of Baruch: —

" Wisdom hath not been heard of in Canaan:
Neither hath it been seen in *Theman*:
The sons of Agar, dwellers upon earth, *who search after understanding*, . . . †
The merchants of *Meran* and of *Theman*,
The mythologists, and the searchers out of understanding:

---

* Arabibus B et M sunt literæ promiscuæ. Hinc locus ubi thus colligitur, in Arabe Geographo, vocatur *M*erbat et *B*erbat: Saracenorum metropolis, *M*eccha et *B*eccha. — Boch. G. S. l. ii. c. 17.

† The equivalent expression for *Magi* or *Magians*. Μάγος [مجس], dictio Persica, quæ apud eos significat *sapientem*. *Sapientes* enim Persæ Magos vocant, ut Græci, Philosophos. — Facciolat. voc. Magus.

They have not known the way of *Wisdom*,
Neither have they remembered her paths."*

In this passage, "the merchants of Meran and Theman" are expressly denominated "Agarenes." But the Meran of Baruch is the same with the Muranimal of Pliny; a town in the country of the Themi, and inhabited by the Agræi. By two wholly independent authorities, therefore, we have Theman, or the Themi, doubly identified with the Agarenes, or Agræi. Now the ancient Themi have been already shown to be the same tribe or people with the Beni Temin of Bahrein. It follows, that this great Arab tribe, thus decisively identified with the *Hagarene* merchants of Meran and Theman, are the genuine descendants of Ishmael, by Tema, the ninth of his twelve sons.

But the Beni Temin of Bahrein being thus proved identical, at once with the Themi of Ptolemy, and with the Tema or Theman of the Old Testament, we possess a complete clue for the recovery of the Ishmaelite tribe of Tema: which is obviously co-extensive with the modern Beni Temin, of whom the Bahrein Arabs form only a small part.† Now the Arab tribe of Beni

* Baruch, iii. 22, 23. Compare the authorized version. It is less literal, but equally faithful, and more expressive of the truth that the *Magians* of the tribe of Temin are here intended.

† A branch of this wide-spread tribe is noticed by Niebuhr, in the

Temin actually occupies, at the present day, the various stations, in the inland province of Nedjd, and in the great northern desert, assigned by Pliny, and other ancient geographers, as the seats of the Thimanei or Themi. And thus the scriptural, the classical, and the modern accounts so harmonize together, as to form one consistent and conclusive proof; restoring to light the Ishmaelite tribe of Tema, in uninterrupted succession, in "the Hagarenes of Meran and Theman" (or Pliny's Agræi of Muranimal); the Thimanei of the northern desert and of Nedjd; the Themi of Bahrein; and their common representatives, the Beni Temin.

This restoration of the family of the Ishmaelite Tema will have an interest beyond itself, if it be found to throw new light upon a separate question, . . . the country and family of the "wise men from the East."

THE MAGI.—The tradition of the church, and the opinion of the learned, with nearly one voice, lead us to seek in Arabia the seat of these eastern sages. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Epiphanius, among the ancients, Baronius, Lightfoot, Ussher, Grotius, among the moderns, suf-

vicinity of Bagdad. "Quant aux tribus Arabes qui ont des chameaux, et qui demeurent aux environs de Bagdad, on m'indiqua les suivantes: *Beni Temím*, au sud de la dite ville, et dans la contrée de *Tacht Kerne*, ou d'*El Madeien*."— Description de l'Arabie, tom. iii. p. 337.

ficiently represent the consenting judgment of fathers and commentators, upon this interesting topic. This general consent is trebly justified, 1. by the authority of the prophetic Scriptures, which bring the kings of Arabia, to offer its peculiar products, at the feet of the infant Messiah; 2. by the position of the Arabian peninsula, which is commonly described, in the Old Testament, as lying to the east of Jerusalem and Palestine; and, 3. by the joint testimony of Pliny and Ptolemy, who speak of Arabia as a seat or school of the *Magi;* the very title by which Saint Matthew designates the wise men in the Gospel.

But this union of suffrages, as to the country of the Gospel Magi, has not produced unity of sentiment, respecting the part of Arabia from which they came. Leaving it to one set of authorities to fix their habitation, absurdly, in Arabia Petræa, and on the very border of the Holy Land; to another, to place them, vaguely, amidst the sands of the northern desert, in the country of Job; to a third, to transport them, arbitrariously, to the heart of Yemen, and thus to bring them, by preference, not from the east, but from the extreme south; with the learned and modest Triebel *, I shall take the direction

* L. B. Triebel, de Magis, ad Matth. ii. 1, 2., ap. Bibl. Crit. Thes. Nov. tom. ii. pp. 111—118.

in which the index of Scripture points upon the map of Ptolemy; and seek, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, in his Magorum Sinus, the proper seat of the Magi of the New Testament.

Now the Magorum Sinus of Ptolemy, or "bay of the Magi" (now Magas), was situated in the territory of the Themi, on the coast of the Persian Gulf. But the Themi of Ptolemy have been already identified with the Beni Temin of Bahrein: a tribe, long prior to the age of Mahomet, the professed and zealous votaries of the Magian religion. In the book of Baruch, this Hagarene race, "the merchants of Meran and Theman," in strict conformity with their national faith, are represented as "seekers after wisdom," and "searchers out of understanding:" in other words, as Magi, or wise men. What more just or natural inference can be drawn from these historical facts, than that the Magi, or wise men, from the east, who came to pay their homage, and to present their costly offerings *, to the infant Messiah, and who, by consent of the learned, are allowed to have come from Arabia, were, in fact, Ishmaelites of the *Magian* tribe of Tema, or

* The precious merchandize of Gerra, the seat of the caravan trade; whence, chiefly, the products of Yemen and Hadramáut, as well as the commodities of India, found their way to the Mediterranean. — See Heeren, Hist. Res. vol. ii. p. 107.

the Beni Temin of Bahrein? The designation of the Gospel "Magi," concurring with the religion professed by these Beni Temin; the direction of their journey "from the east," coinciding with the geographical position of that Magian tribe; and the two-fold agreement, in mental character, and in commercial pursuits, between these eastern sages, and "the sons of Hagar that seek after wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran and Theman," ... a coincidence of character so strongly marked, in both cases, by the union of commerce and philosophy, ... these circumstances, viewed severally and together, present an amount of probability as near to proof, as seems attainable in the nature of the case.

JETUR.—While several of the tribes descended from elder sons of Ishmael are noticed in sacred history, only in the catalogues of Genesis and 1 Chronicles; and while the eldest and most illustrious of the Ishmaelite nations, the Nabatheans and Kedarites themselves, find place only in the allusions of the Prophets or the Psalms; a ray of clear historic light unexpectedly breaks in upon the posterity of the last and youngest of the twelve Ishmaelite patriarchs, the families, namely, of Jetur*, Nephish, and Kedemah. This

* This name was kept up in families of the tribe: 1 Chron. ii. 17., we read of "*Jether the Ishmaelite*," who was father of Amasa.

contrast, so little to be anticipated, yet so happily important for the verification of all that has preceded in the present inquiry, is owing to one of those incidental occurrences, which sometimes serve as a clue, in the history of the world, to people, or events, the most remote or obscure, and which otherwise must have lain in total oblivion. The historical incident in question is the expedition undertaken, in the reign of Saul, by the three trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, in unconscious fulfilment of prophecy *, to conquer settlements for their surplus population, beyond the original boundary of the twelve tribes, in the direction of the Euphrates. This enterprize brought the invaders into hostile contact with three Ishmaelite or Hagarite tribes; who thus obtained a place in sacred history, denied to their more conspicuous brethren. The transaction, as related in the First Book of Chronicles, has been already introduced under another head. †

In its general bearings (as I have elsewhere more fully shown), this most luciferous narrative conclusively establishes the identity of the Hagarites or Hagarenes of the Old Testament, and, consequently, that of the Agræi, Agaræi, and Agaranitæ of the classic geographers, with the Arab

* "She sent out her boughs unto *the sea*;
And her branches unto *the river*."—Psalm lxxx. 11.
i. e. The *Mediterranean* and *Euphrates*.

† Pp. 186–192.

tribes descended from Ishmael: of which tribes, it hence most plainly appears, the people generically named after Hagar, the common mother of their race, were merely various Bedouin associations.

In its particular application, by the minute accuracy of its geographical details, this narrative renders a not less valuable service: for, as shall now be shown, it enables us to trace the Ishmaelitish tribes, composing this specific confederacy, both in other parts of Scripture, and in the ancient and modern geography of the Northern, or Desert Arabia, the proper land of Ishmael.

This remark peculiarly applies to the first of the three tribes mentioned 1 Chron. v., or that of Jetur. From their common geographical position, we may readily identify the Jetur there spoken of, with Geshur and the Geshurites*; a people noticed, in the Book of Joshua, as inhabitants of these parts, or of the country bordering, on the east, the seats of the three trans-Jordanic tribes: "The half tribe of Manasseh, with whom the Reubenites and the Gadites have received their inheritance, which Moses gave them, beyond Jordan eastward; . . . Gilead and the border of the *Jeshurites* and Maachathites, and all Mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salcah. . . . Nevertheless, the children of Israel *expelled*

* Jetur softened into Geshur, as *T*or into *S*or, and *Att*yria into *Ass*yria.

not the Jeshurites: but the Jeshurites dwell among the children of Israel to this day."* A simple comparison of the geographical landmarks will evince, that the country of Geshur, and that of Jetur, as described in 1 Chron. v., is the same. But the land of Jetur is identical with the ancient Ituræa, as we learn from Strabo; who tells us, that the whole mountain chain between the Libanus and Bosra (situated, like Salcah, at the southern termination of the Hauran) was peopled by the Arabs and Itureans: and again, that the Arabs and Itureans dwelt intermingled, in the mountains south of Trachonitis and Damascus.†

Let these geographical marks be compared with the following topographical notices from Burckhardt's Syria: the result of the comparison will be the recovery of the scriptural *Jetur*, and the classical *Ituræa*, in the modern name and district of *Djedour*.

"The Haouran comprises part of Trachonitis and Ituræa, the whole of Auranitis, and the northern districts of Batanea. . . . The flat country, south of Djebel Kessouc, east of Djebel el Sheikh, and west of the Hadj road, as far as Kasem, or Nowa, is called Djedour. The greater

* Josh. xiii. 7—13.

† Lib. xvi. pp. 1095—1097. — Ed. fol. Amstelæd.

part of Ituræa appears to be comprised within the limits of Djedour."*

That this district of Djedour was the seat of the Hagarene tribe of Jetur, noticed 1 Chron. v., is a conclusion naturally suggested, by the exact coincidence of geographical position, and the close correspondence in name. The conclusion is corroborated by other circumstances of evidence deducible from Ptolemy; who places the towns of Aurana (Kelb Hauran), and Alata (El Hait), on the eastern side of the Hauran, in the territory of the Agræi. But, while the Hauran was the favourite station of the confederate Hagarite tribes mentioned in the fifth chapter of 1 Chronicles, it will be seen, when we come to treat of Kedemah, the last of the sons of Ishmael, that these Hagarites extended across the desert, to the head of the Persian Gulf; while of Jetur, in particular, it appears, from other notices of Scripture, that the settlements or encampments of this tribe stretched in the opposite direction, as far as the border of the Philistines, and the frontier of Egypt. Thus, in the Book of Joshua, we find noticed as adjoining countries, "all the borders of the Philistines, and all *Geshuri:* from Sihor [Shur], which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward."† In 1 Samuel,

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria. † Josh. xiii. 3.

again, we read of David, when dwelling in the country of the Philistines with Achish king of Gath, "and David and his men went up, and invaded the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites: for those nations were *of old* the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even to the land of Egypt."* We need only recall to mind the scriptural boundaries of Ishmael, "from Havilah to Shur, which is before Egypt," at once to recognize, in these Jeshurites, the Ishmaelite tribe of Jetur.

NEPHISH.—The existence, in Arabia Deserta, of an Arab tribe, descended from this patriarch, is undeniably ascertained by the three-fold testimony of Moses, of the author of 1 Chronicles, and of Josephus. Beyond the bare facts, however, of the existence of the tribe of Nephish, and of its alliance with the kindred Bedouin tribes of Jetur and Kedemah, we possess no materials to illustrate the obscure fortunes of this Ishmaelite stock. Its station on the borders of Gilead, or the Hauran, however, determines the geographical position of Nephish and his brethren towards the north; thus plainly identifying this Hagarite tribe as one of the branches of Ptolemy's Agræi. And as the Agræi or Hagarites here in question appear to have stretched across the northern

* 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

desert, from the Hauran to the Persian Gulf, Jetur resting on the north-western, and Kedemah on the south-eastern extremity of this line, the encampments of Nephish, who was in league with both, lay, most probably, between them.

KEDEMAH.—A national usage of the Arabs, often adverted to, that of denominating their towns and districts from the tribes which inhabit them, supplies, in a country where national customs have never changed, a safe clue to the settlement of the youngest son of Ishmael. In the city of Kadema, seated on the Gulf of the same name, we literally recover the name, and in its inhabitants, it may fairly be presumed, the tribe or "nation" of this patriarch. For the ancient city of Kadema, (a celebrated mart of commerce at the head of the Persian Gulf, the Itamos portus of Ptolemy, and the Ammea of Pliny,) of which large mention is made in the Arabian geography of Abulfeda*, is situated in the Ishmaelite province of Hagar, amidst the surround-

* ومن الاماكن المشهورة بالبحرين كاظمه ... وهو جون على ساحل البحرين البصره والقطيف وبين كاظمه والبصره مسيرة يومين ومن كاظمه والقطيف مسيرة اربعة ايام وهي في سمت الجنوب عن البصره ويقال لها كاظمة البحور وهي منازل لعرب وبها مراعي جيدة وابار كثيرة تربية المدا ۞

Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 22. apud Hudson.

ing Ishmaelite tribes of Tema, or the Beni Temyn; of the Harb Kedarites of El Kader (Ptolemy's Idicara), and of Graan Harb; and of other Arabs of the same stock, comprized under the confederate title of Agræi or Hagarites; the matronymic from which the entire province of Hagar so obviously derives its name. Thus all the surrounding topographical marks unite to verify the conclusion, authorized by the identity of names, that the city and district of Kadema, on the Persian Gulf, was the seat of the Ishmaelite tribe of Kedemah.

This tribe of Kedemah, Calmet, after St. Jerome and Malvenda, justly conceives to be denoted in the Old Testament under the name of *Nodab;* the Hagarite tribe mentioned, 1 Chron. v., in conjunction with those of Jetur and Nephish, ... the names and families of the two sons of Ishmael immediately preceding Kedemah in seniority. The conjecture of Calmet derives decisive confirmation from local circumstances connected with the name of Nodab, of which neither he, nor St. Jerome, was aware: circumstances which clearly argue the identity of Kedemah with Nodab, ... this Ishmaelite tribe, agreeably to a very general Arab usage, being designated, in the one instance, by its *patronymic*, in the other, by its *nom de guerre*. For, 1. The signification of the

word *Nodab*, in the Arabic idiom, is "the vibration of a spear or dart;" 2. the natives of the coast of the Persian Gulf, in the vicinity of Kadema, were famous for the manufacture of spears: and, 3. Nodab is expressly mentioned by the author of the Kamouz, a writer of the ninth century of the Hedjra, and fifteenth of the Christian era, as a then existing Arab tribe.*

With the learned Calmet, therefore, I conclude this tribe to be that of Kedemah: surnamed Nodab, from its celebrity in the manufacture, or its skill in the use, of the spear. The case of Kedemah is but a fresh instance of the adoption of warlike surnames by the tribes of the desert; a custom already illustrated in a kindred and neighbouring example, that of Kedar, surnamed *Harb*, from the Arabic, *Harb*, "War."

The alliance commemorated in the fifth chapter of 1 Chronicles, between Jetur, on the border of the Hauran, and Kedemah, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, receives curious and conclusive illustration from the fact, communicated by Burckhardt, respecting the inter-communication still maintained, by the roving tribes of the great northern desert, between these widely-separated

* نذب Jaculatio, vibramen teli. — Gi. et Nom. tribus Arabicæ. — Ca. ap. Gol. in voc.

parts. "Wady Haouran, which has been mentioned in a preceding account of this desert, seems a part of those wadys. During the last century, this ground was the continual scene of conflict, between the Mowaly Arabs, who were then very powerful, but at present inhabit the desert about Aleppo, and the Beni Khaled tribe, from Basra. On those grounds, both tribes were accustomed to meet in winter, *and contend for the right of pasture.*"* Substitute only for the names, Mowaly and Beni Khaled, those of the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, on the one hand, and of the Ishmaelite tribes of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab or Kedemah, on the other, and you have the same conflict renewed, on the same ground, and for the same cause, at the interval of more than three thousand years.

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 217.

SECTION IV.

SETTLEMENTS OF KETURAH.

"THEN, again, Abraham took a wife, and her name was Keturah. And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were, Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim. And the sons of Midian, Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah. All these were the children of Keturah. And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and sent them away from Isaac his son (while he yet lived) eastward, unto the east country."*

In the case of Hagar, we have already seen, that the posterity of Abraham by her, through Ishmael, were denominated, not after "the father of the faithful," but, by the name of the mother of the race, Hagarites or Hagarenes. The object, in the intention of Providence, being apparently

* Gen. xxv. 1—6.

this, to distinguish between all other children of the patriarch, and "his only son, Isaac," the heir of the promises, and "his son indeed." Upon the same principle, accordingly, the same line of distinction is preserved, in the Mosaic account of the posterity of Abraham, by his second wife, Keturah; who are styled, in Genesis, "the children of Keturah," and "the sons of the concubines whom Abraham had," in contradistinction to "Isaac, his son after the spirit:" the natural being thus again severed, at the outset, from the spiritual seed.

But the distinction is not more important in its spiritual, than it is valuable in a historical point of view: in which light, it becomes a clue for the recovery of the Abrahamic tribes from Keturah, who dwelt in Arabia intermixed with the Ishmaelites or Hagarenes; and also, as shall elsewhere be shown, for the restoration to their place in history of the still more numerous and powerful Arab tribes of the race of Esau.

By the expressions, "the east," and "the east country," as there has been already occasion to notice, the Jews topographically meant the Arabian peninsula: a large part of which lay nearly due east, and a still larger portion east-south-east, of Palestine. When Scripture history, therefore, relates, that Abraham sent the sons of

Keturah, and of his other wives, "eastward into the east country," it literally instructs us to seek their settlements in Arabia; where the learned, accordingly, are unanimous in placing them.

Before, however, we prosecute our researches in this quarter, after the particular tribes descended from the several sons, or grandsons, of Keturah, enumerated in the Mosaic record, it seems incumbent on us to inquire whether, as in the instance of Hagar, traces of this stock are recoverable in the historical geography of Arabia, ancient or modern, under a generic name, derived, like that of Hagarenes or Agræi, from the mother of the race.

Now, in the Arabian geography of Ptolemy, we find the city of *Katara;* a town placed by him upon the Persian Gulf, in the same latitude, and nearly in the same longitude, as Gerra, or in the neighbourhood of the Bahrein islands. In the Arabian geography of Pliny, we further meet independent mention of a people called the *Kataræi*, in this very quarter. The inference to be drawn is plain: the *Katara* of Ptolemy was the seat of the *Kataræi* of Pliny. And when, on turning from the ancient to the modern geography of Arabia, we see, in d'Anville and others, the town of *Katura*, in the longitude and latitude of the ancient *Katara*, or in the

parallel of Gerra, on the opposite side of the peninsula of Aval, there cannot remain a doubt as to the identity of the places with each other, and of the name, as preserved by Ptolemy and Pliny, with the scriptural name of *Keturah*. In accordance, then, with the ascertained precedent in the line of Ishmael, the Kataræi (like the Agræi from Hagar) were so named, generically, from Keturah, the mother of the race.

This conclusion, for its more complete establishment, requires only that we shall be able to point out, as in the case of the Agræi or Hagarites, the particular tribes founded by the children of Keturah, and comprized under the common matronymic of Katuræi. The investigation will carry us to the most distant and opposite quarters of the peninsula; in every part of which, upon exact inquiry, will be found districts and tribes, bearing in ancient times, and preserving in our own, the names and memories of the sons, or grandsons, of Keturah.

Before I proceed, however, to details, I would notice a tradition, preserved by Epiphanius, which seems to throw incidental, but very interesting light, upon the relation between the Kataræi of the classical geographers, and the Keturah of the Old Testament. Katura, the seat of the Kataræi, we have seen, lies upon a

peninsula of the Persian Gulf near Bahrein. But, according to Epiphanius, the Magi of the Gospel, whom we have, elsewhere, independently traced to this neighbourhood, were descendants of Keturah. The tradition, at least, harmonizes with the geographical position, and probable religious creed, of the Kataræi: with their position, as situated opposite the realm of Persia, the central seat of Magism; and with their probable creed, as next-door neighbours to the kindred Ishmaelite tribe of Tema, or the Beni Temin, professed and zealous votaries of the Magian religion. The Gospel Magi, therefore, or some of their number, may well have belonged, as Epiphanius makes them belong, to the family of Keturah.

Zimran. — Scripture history makes no direct mention of the tribe or family of Zimran, the eldest son of Keturah, as, in after-times, a people of Arabia. But the prominent place occupied by a younger brother, Midian and his posterity, in the early history of the Israelites, happily fills up the chasm; laying open the path of inquiry, and supplying, at the same time, safe and certain guidance, for the recovery of the descendants, not of Zimran only, but of all the Arab patriarchs of this Abrahamic race.

The primitive site of the ancient Midianites,

or, to speak more properly, of the tribes descending from the children of Keturah, is among the best ascertained points of sacred geography. From comparison of the contexts where mention is made of them in the Old Testament, we collect, with certainty, that this people lay intermingled with the kindred tribes of the Ishmaelites and Amalekites, from the borders of the land of Moab, to the country round the eastern head of the Red Sea, or the Gulf of Akaba. The proofs of their location will be found in the proper place, under the head of *Midian*. I shall here only observe, that, from the fact of Midian alone being afterwards spoken of in Scripture, the natural inference is, that Midian had become the ascendant tribe among his brethren; and, as such, gave name to the confederate tribes from Keturah. If these tribes, or the chief of them, can be severally traced, within "the land of Midian," in the ancient and modern geography of these parts, what was a natural inference becomes, at once, a just and full historical conclusion.

To begin with the name of Zimran or Zomran. The scriptural "land of Midian," it has been stated, stretched round the eastern head of the Red Sea, or the Gulf of Akaba. On the eastern shore of this gulf, accordingly, the ancient city

of Midian (the Modiana of Ptolemy, and noticed by Abulfeda as a place of remote antiquity, in his day long in ruins) preserves to this day the record of its origin in its name. Now, along this coast, between the head of the Elanitic Gulf (the modern Akaba), and the territory of the Thamuditæ, or tribe of Thamud, we meet, in Diodorus Siculus and Agatharchides, an Arab people styled *Banizomaneis*, in other words, *Beni Zoman*. But the *Beni Zoman* of Diodorus are, beyond doubt or question, the *Beni Omran* of Burckhardt: a formidable race of Bedouins, who prove their descent, by holding, to this day, the seats of their classical ancestors. * By a curious and happy concurrence, the classical unites with the Arabic proper name of this people, by the reunion simply of their idiomatic variations, to restore, in the proper land of Midian, and in its original or scriptural form, the name and tribe of Zimran or Zomran: the Bani Zomaneis of Diodorus retaining the initial Z, while it drops the medial R; the Beni Omran of Burckhardt, on the other hand, dropping the initial of the Hebrew name, but reinstating the R, pretermitted by Diodorus and Arrian. The names alone themselves, *Z*omaneis . . . Om*r*an . . . *Z*om*r*an,

* "The tract of mountains between *Hakl* and '*Akabah* is inhabited by the Arabs 'Amrân."—Robinson, Script. Res. vol. i. p. 234.

place clearly before the eye the argument for their identity. Let the reader only couple, with the actual existence of the tribe designated under the first two forms of the name, the fact of its existence in the heart of the scriptural "land of Midian," and he has before him every proof which agreement of name and site can supply, that, in this Arab tribe, we possess the genuine posterity of Zimran, the first-born of Keturah. Mr. Burckhardt thus describes the habits and habitations of the Beni Omran: . . . "The Omran, although connected by alliance with the Howeytát, do not in fact belong to them; but form a distinct tribe in themselves. They inhabit the mountains between Akaba and Moeyleh [the ruins of Midian are situated midway on this line], on the eastern coast of the Red Sea. The Omran are a strong tribe, of very independent spirit. Their frequent depredations render them objects of terror to the pilgrims proceeding to Mekka, who are under the necessity of passing through their territory. At the time when Mohammed Aly, Pasha of Egypt, had reduced all other Bedouins on the Egyptian Hadj road to complete subjection, the Omran still proved obstinate. In the year 1814, they attacked and plundered a detachment of Turkish cavalry near Akaba; and, in 1815, they pillaged the whole

advanced corps of the Syrian pilgrim caravan, on their return from Medina to Damascus."*

While the main body of this Midianite race thus remains fixed in the land of their fathers, the Beni Omran, in common with most of the Arab tribes, have their offshoots in other and distant parts of the peninsula. Burckhardt distinguishes Reyda, in the neighbourhod of Sanaa, as a town "of the Omran Arabs."† The name and settlement preserve, in the heart of Yemen, the memory of Zimran and Keturah.

JOKSHAN. — The posterity of Jokshan is to be sought and found only in the families of his two sons, Sheba and Dedan; to whom the Mosaic account, Gen. xxv. 3., specially points attention. Conformably with this significant indication, express mention is made of these Jokshanite tribes, in subsequent places of Scripture. The name of Jokshan himself, on the other hand, nowhere reappears in the Old Testament, as that of an Arab nation; nor are there any very clear traces of it discernible, either in the classical, or the modern geography of Arabia. For *Abu Jok*, the modern name of a town or port on the Arabian Gulf, may stand indifferently as the contraction of *Jokshan*, or *Joktan;* and the

* Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys, pp. 221, 222.

† Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 376.

Choké, or *Coché*, of Ptolemy, a town of *Saccea*, a district bordering eastward on the Hauran or the ancient Batanea, is too faint an approximation, although, on other grounds, a not improbable corruption of the name of Jokshan. My reason for noticing this last as a probable verification, is, the geographical location of the place: the *Choké* of Ptolemy being situated adjacent to his *Sabe*, the seat of the Sabeans mentioned in the Book of Job; the city and people, as I hope presently to show, of Sheba the son of Jokshan.

SHEBA. — The posterity of Sheba, the son of Raamah, and grandson of Cush, has been already traced in juxtaposition with Raamah, on the south-western side of Arabia, in the Rhamanite Sabeans of Yemen. And since the Sabeans mentioned in the first chapter of Job, as a Bedouin tribe of the northern desert, prove, from the spelling of the name, to be also descendants of a Sheba, the presumption is, that these latter were the posterity, not of the Cushite Sheba, but of Sheba the son of Jokshan, and grandson of Keturah. This inference, in itself so obvious and natural, is much strengthened by the twofold consideration, 1. that the Sabe of Ptolemy, and consequently the Sabeans of Job, lay due east of Palestine, or in the very direction in which Abraham originally sent forth the children of

Keturah, with those of his other wives or concubines; and, 2. that the family of Dedan, the brother of the Jokshanite Sheba, can be traced with certainty, on the authority of Scripture, in the same quarter of the country.

It has been already remarked, that, according to Epiphanius, or rather to an ancient tradition preserved by him, the Magi, or wise men of the Gospel, were of the family of Keturah. Morden (who wrote in the seventeenth century), in his General Geography, with apparent allusion to this tradition, makes these eastern Magi natives of Sabe, or Sabeans of the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. The passage is adduced, not for the correctness of its inference respecting the country of the wise men, but as showing the prevalence of the belief, that the Sabe of Ptolemy, and the Sabeans of the Euphrates, derived their origin from Sheba and Keturah. "Sumiscasæ," observes this writer, "in Arabia Deserta, near Ana upon the Euphrates, is thought to be the ancient Sabe, whence the Magi set forth to adore Christ."

The Sabeans in Job must not be confounded with his Sheba: the former are described as a band of Bedouin robbers; the latter, as the company of a caravan: in the one, we recognize the roving Sabeans from Keturah, a tribe of the

neighbouring desert; in the other, a company of Cushite, or Joktanite, Sabeans, from Yemen.

In the simple fact, that two distinct tribes of Sheba, one northern, the other from the south, are introduced in the Book of Job, we possess, I would observe in conclusion, abundant proof of the origin of the first. For the southern Sabeans have been shown to belong to the families of Cush and Joktan: the Sabeans of the north, therefore, adjoining the land of Uz, or the Æsitæ of Ptolemy, naturally identify themselves with the last of the three Shebas of the Old Testament, the son of Jokshan, and grandson of Keturah.

DEDAN. — The identity of the Sabeans introduced in the first chapter of Job, with the family of the last-named Sheba, will be still more apparent, when we shall have traced the posterity, and ascertained the seat, of his brother Dedan. Of the two patriarchs of this name noticed in the Old Testament, the grandsons, respectively, of Cush, and of Keturah, the seat of one, the Cushite Dedan, has been irrefragably fixed by the local evidences, in conjunction with the settlement of his father Raamah, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. If, therefore, we find a tribe of Dedan in the great northern desert (the direction indicated by Scripture for the settlements of

the children of Keturah), the presumption plainly is, that, in this tribe, we recover the family, or families rather, of the Jokshanite Dedan.

Now, in three of the major prophets, we find a tribe of Dedan, spoken of in alternate connection with Tema and Buz, towards the eastern side of Arabia Deserta, and with Teman, or the land of Edom, on its western border.* From the known accuracy of sacred geography, which usually mentions together adjoining nations, the correct inference is, that the Dedan here intended was a Bedouin people, whose encampments lay between the land of Edom and the Euphrates, removable, at pleasure, to either. But this intermediate tract was also, as we have already seen, the country of those Bedouin Sabeans, who have been just identified with Sheba, the son of Jokshan, and elder brother of Dedan. Inhabitants of the same wilderness, the tribes of Sheba and Dedan, therefore, by the evidence of neighbourhood, as well as by that of name, reciprocally bespeak their identity with the posterity of these sons of Keturah: it being contrary to all probability, that coincidences like

* Jer. xxv. 23., xlix. 7, 8.; Ezek. xxv. 13.; Isaiah, xxi. 13. From Jer. xlix. 8. it is clear that the Dedan there spoken of as adjoining the land of Edom was a race distinct from that of Esau; from whose calamity they are exhorted to flee. This notice of Dedan may serve to indicate the position of the Dedanim of Isaiah.

these, in the very country whither Abraham sent away her children, can be insignificant, or inconclusive.

But the proof does not rest here. A ray of light breaks in, from the prophetic Scriptures, to fix the identity of the Jokshanite Dedan. In Isaiah's prediction, entitled "The burden upon Arabia," when the prophet introduces the northern Bedouins of this name, I observe a variation, which serves nicely to discriminate between the grandsons of Cush, and of Keturah; while it verifies the Dedan of Arabia Deserta as of the latter lineage. "In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of *Dedanim*."* This use of the plural, *Dedanim*, in itself a slight variation, in its connection with the Jokshanite Dedan becomes highly significant. For of this patriarch it is most remarkable, that his families, by his three sons, are all spoken of by Moses, not like the other Abrahamic stocks in the singular, but in the plural number. "And the sons of Dedan were *Asshurim*, and *Letushim*, and *Leummim*."† Now, where so marked a peculiarity of nomenclature is observable in every branch of the posterity, its occurrence might be

* Isaiah, xxi. 13.

† Gen. xxv. 3. A similar peculiarity occurs in the family of Ham.—See Gen. x. 13, 14.

expected *à fortiori* in the case of the parent stock. When, therefore, in the above passage of Isaiah, we meet with the plural *Dedanim*, as the denomination of an Arab race, we may fairly presume this race to be the posterity of the Jokshanite Dedan; and to include, under its generic name, the Dedanim tribes of Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim. These branch tribes of the Dedanim, with one exception, are not subsequently mentioned in sacred history. Let us now, in conclusion, examine, whether any, and what traces of them remain, in the classical, and in the modern geography, of Arabia.

ASSHURIM.—The name simply denotes the tribe of Asshur. And the main difficulty is, rightly to discriminate between the posterity of Asshur, the first-born of Dedan, and the posterity of Asshur, the son of Shem, and parent of the great Assyrian family. This difficulty is the greater, because of the near neighbourhood of some, at least, of the tribes from Keturah, to the Assyrian frontier. Apart from the distinction supplied by the singular and plural names, *Asshur*, *Asshurim*, the difficulty, however, may easily be surmounted.

To avoid all confusion between these Asshurim and the Assyrians, we have only to turn to a remote quarter of the peninsula, in which are

found other and irrefragable vestiges of the settlements of Keturah.

Upon the mountains of Yemen, bordering on the Arabian Gulf, and immediately adjoining the Hedjaz, we find a district called, by Strabo, *Ilasaros*, and a people named, by Ptolemy, *Elesori*: very plainly the country, and tribe, of the *Asyr*, or *El Asyr* Arabs. The name agrees alike with that of either Asshur. But no competent inquirer will look to find, in these parts, any colony of Assyrians properly so called. The alternative, that the Asyr Arabs are the same with the Asshurim* of Scripture, is not only free from all antecedent objection, but rendered highly probable by the ascertained roving habits of all the Abrahamic tribes. The probability is advanced into strong presumptive proof, when, on examining the neighbouring localities, an extant Arab tribe is discovered immediately south of the Asyr mountains, which bears in its name the plainest evidence of descent from another son of Keturah. The details of this collateral proof will be found under the head of *Abidah*, one of the grandsons of Keturah by Midian. In Burckhardt's route of the "Hadj el Kebsy," or pilgrim caravan between Mekka and Sanaa, may be seen,

* The change of the initial א into ع, is after known Arab precedent: عربان *pro* اربان Arabes. — Camus ap. Gol. in voc.

in the line of country from Ible to Thoran in Yemen (a space of more than a degree), the adjoining seats of the Asyr and Abyda Arabs: the former terminating at Derb Selman; the latter commencing at the next pilgrim station, Wakasha, "in the district of Abyda." The settlement, already noticed, of the Omran Arabs at Reyda, the penultimate station southward, carries to the height these local evidences; leaving imprinted, on the face of the country, clear vestiges of Keturah and her children, to the immediate neighbourhood of Sanaa. The relative positions of the Asyr, the Abyda, and the Omran Arabs, will at once be seen, on reference to the scriptural map accompanying this volume. Their stations in detail may readily be traced, by comparing Burckhardt's Appendix, Nos. i. and iii., with the copious, though somewhat incorrect, map, prefixed to his "Travels in Arabia."

With these collective marks of the habitations of Keturah before the eye, we might safely adopt the conclusion towards which they point, that, in the Elesori of Ptolemy, and El Asyr of Niebuhr and Burckhardt, we recover the Asshurim of Scripture, or that branch of the Dedanim descended from Asshur.* This conclusion, how-

* Burckhardt notices the town of "Ibn *el Shayr*, of the Asyr tribe:" —a variety, apparently, of their own name, connecting it more nearly with *Asshur*.

ever, rests upon a still stronger basis. The prophet Ezekiel, in his prediction concerning Tyre, numbers the *Asshurim* among her merchants, in connection with a branch of commerce, which completes the identification of this people with the Asyr Arabs of Yemen. "The company of the *Asshurim* have made thy benches of *ivory*, brought out of the isles of Chittim."*

The application of this passage is doubly fixed, by the name of the traders, and by the nature of the trade. It can be understood only of the Asyr Arabs; by whom the *ivory* of Azania (according to Ptolemy the great country of the elephant) was transported, from the opposite coast of Africa, by land-carriage, to Tyre. The connection of the Asyr, or Asshurim, with Azania, and the trade in ivory, derives striking illustration from Commodore Owen's Survey of Africa and Arabia; where we learn, that the famous promontory of Azania, and the central point of ancient commerce, Cape Guardafui, is also styled, by the natives, to this day, Ras ASSERE.

LETUSHIM.—This name, as that of an Arab tribe, appears to have been absorbed in the generic appellation of Dedanim: in like manner as several Ishmaelite tribes are known to us, in the later Scriptures, only under the general name

* Ezek. xxvii. 6.

of Hagarenes. Neither the ancient nor the modern geography of Arabia affords, so far as the present writer is aware, any clear vestige of an Arab people thus denominated. The *Tedium* of Ptolemy, a city of Arabia Deserta bordering on Chaldea (vernacularly *El Tedium*), is but a remote approximation to *Letushim*. There is some verisimilitude, however, in the belief that the names may be identical: inasmuch as the Tedium of Ptolemy, the conjectured seat of the Letushim, lay in the near neighbourhood of another city specified by this geographer, whose name (so far as the evidence of names can go) bears decisive witness to its being the seat of the posterity of Dedan by his third son.

LEUMMIM.—As by the plural *Dedanim* is unquestionably meant *the sons of Dedan*, so *Leummim*, in the plural, properly signifies *the sons of Luma*. This simple rectification at once guides us to the recovery, in the heart of the scriptural boundaries of Keturah, of the name and nation of the youngest of the sons of Dedan. For, in the Arabia of Ptolemy, we find this patriarchal proper name, in its true form, in that of *Luma;* a city on the eastern side of Arabia Deserta, not far from Sabe or Sheba, the capital of the Sabeans of the race of Keturah. The name and neighbourhood thus combine to authorize the

presumption, that, in the *Luma* of the Alexandrine geographer, we possess the seat, so called after their father, of the scriptural *Leummim*.

The research of Niebuhr throws fresh light, at once, upon the Leummim of Scripture, and the Luma of Ptolemy, by the detection of another Luma in Yemen *, surrounded on every side by districts and tribes, bearing, like itself, the names of the sons of Keturah; by the Asyr or Asshurim, on the north, and by the Omran and Abida Arabs, in the direction of Sanaa. This southern cluster of Keturite names and settlements enables us to tread with firmer step amidst the northern seats of Keturah.

MEDAN.—M. d'Anville, in his "Géographie Ancienne," takes notice of an Arab tribe named *Maadeni*, whom he rightly identifies with the inhabitants of *Maadan* al Nokra; an inland town of Hedjaz, on the caravan route from Medina to Basra. The names Maadan, and Maadeni, this illustrious geographer gratuitously supposes to be derived from *mines*, which he, as gratuitously, conjectures *may* have existed anciently in this neighbourhood; inferring, from the signification merely of the Arabic word, that the people of Maadan were denominated Maadeni, or *miners*,

* "*Luma*, village entre Sûk es Sept et Abîd."—Niebuhr, Descript de l'Arab. tom. iii. p. 215.

from their occupation. The hypothesis may be dismissed without comment: it being much too slightly constructed to call for confutation. After what has been already done, in these pages, to illustrate the settlements of Keturah, the reader, it is believed, will see very different ground for the presumption, that, in Maadan, and the Maadeni, are preserved to us the seat and family of Medan, or Madan, her third son.

This place and people may be regarded as a middle term, or connecting link, between the Midianites, on the Arabian, and Katura and the Katuræi, on the Persian Gulf. And as other places in this neighbourhood will presently be pointed out, which bear the names of other descendants of Keturah, all the circumstances unite in favour of the conclusion, that Maadan al Nokra was so denominated after Medan; and that the Maadeni of classical antiquity were the genuine family, or tribe, of this patriarch.

Another, and more celebrated, locality may be noticed, as containing, in one of its vernacular names, similar evidence of its having been originally a settlement of the Keturite tribe of Medan. I allude to Hedjer, the ancient capital of the once famous tribe of Thamud. That the modern Hedjer was anciently named Madan, and is the same with the Modiama or Madiama of Ptolemy,

(an inland city, situated, as Hedjer is, east, or south-east, of his Modiana, the metropolis of Midian,) can be demonstrated from Burckhardt; who states that Hedjer is also called, by the Arabs, *Medayen*. This second name is so obviously the same with the Medan of Genesis, and the site of Hedjer or Medayn so immediately adjacent to the greatest of the settlements of Keturah, "the land of Midian," that every probability concurs to favour the belief that here may be sought the primitive seat of Medan and his posterity. At this point, we exchange probabilities for certainty, as we enter the adjoining territory of his next brother; the celebrity of whose name and race, in sacred history, throws all his brethren into shade.

Before we pass, however, into "the land of Midian," I must bring conclusive evidence to bear upon what has here been done to restore the settlements of Medan; in the fact of the existence of an Arab tribe of this name, in the opposite direction, on the banks of the Euphrates. Among other decisive confirmations, for which this memoir is indebted to Col. Chesney's Survey of the Euphrates, I have now particularly to acknowledge his discovery, on the right bank of that river, in lat. 31° 5″ of the village of *Madan*, and his accompanying enumeration of the en-

campments, along the right bank, of the *Madan* Arabs. The actual existence of the tribe and name, while it reconducts the mind to the scriptural origin of both, Medan the son of Keturah, gives its death-blow to d'Anville's etymological fancy about Maadan and the Maadeni.

MIDIAN.—The other tribes from Keturah can be traced and verified, only by a close and careful survey of the few remaining historical, or geographical, landmarks, preserved in Scripture, in the classic geographers, or in the actual geography of Arabia. But Midian, and the Midianites, are names of too frequent recurrence, and too formidable notoriety, in the early history of the chosen people, to need, or indeed to leave room for critical discussion, on the origin of this great Arab race. The name sufficiently attests the descent of the nation from Keturah. And, like that of Dedan, it is used generically, to designate the various tribes deriving from Midian, the fourth, and most prolific, of her sons.

In treating of Midian, therefore, the object will be, not so much to elucidate the history of this people, as to apply its historical eminence for the more clear elucidation of the fortunes, not only of the subordinate Midianitish stocks, but of all the Abrahamic tribes, who founded settlements in Arabia. For, in sacred history, we find

these Abrahamic tribes, from the earliest period of their settlement downward, so confounded, or identified with the Midianites, as to render the name of Midian a clue to our researches after all the Arabian branches of the Hebrew race. Thus the Arab merchants, to whom his brethren sold Joseph, are styled, indifferently, Midianites, and Ishmaelites. The intermixture of these kindred nations, implied in the interchange of their names, is more largely exemplified in the Book of Judges; where, in the description of the Midianitish host, which was overthrown by Gideon, we read, "they had golden ear-rings, because they were Ishmaelites."* This host of Midian is further described by the sacred writer, as comprizing Edomite, as well as Ishmaelite,

* The origin of *the crescent*, as the ensign of the Saracens, is a point still at issue among Orientalists. I find it, however, in this context. Judges, viii. 21. we read, "And Gideon slew Zebah and Zalmunna; and took away the *ornaments* that were on their camels' necks." For *ornaments*, the marginal reading more correctly substitutes *ornaments like the moon*. So Munster, in his note on this verse: "Hebraica vox שהרונים exponitur à R. R. pro תלי כדמות ירח, *ornamento lunæ habente similitudinem*." The Hebrew word may be aptly rendered by the Latin *lunula*. ("Lunulæ," inquit Isidore L. Orig. xix. c. 31. "sunt ornamenta mulierum, in similitudinem lunæ bullæ dependentes. Clasps or trinkets in the form of *a crescent*." See Facciolat. in voc. edit. Bailey.) The regal crescents on the war camels of those Midianitish kings, most probably adopted to distinguish them in battle, would very naturally pass into the standard of the nation; and hence become the ensign of Mahomet and his followers. Although no mention occurs of *the crescent*, in the early history of the Saracens, we may, therefore, fairly conclude that it was always the Moslem banner.

tribes in its array: for it consisted of "the Midianites, the Amalekites, and all the children of the east;" in other words, of a grand confederacy of Abrahamic Arabs, under the conduct and control of Midian, then the ascendant power. The extent of this power, and of the confederacy to which it gave birth, is attested by that of the invading army, which amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand fighting men.* The country of Midian, properly so called, was situated between the border of Moab, and the frontiers of Nebaioth and Kedar; including, within its southern limits, at least the entire western head of the Red Sea. The character and composition of the army, however, which overran and subdued Israel in the days of Gideon, may well prepare us to expect traces of the Midianites, far beyond these boundaries; both southward, in the direction of their brethren, the Asyr, the Omran, and the Abida Arabs of Yemen, and eastward, in the direction of the Dedanim, and the Sabeans of the Euphrates.

"And the Midianites, and the Amalekites, and all the children of the east, lay along in the valley, like grashoppers for multitude; and their camels are without number, as the sand by the sea-side for multitude."† The passage describes

* See Judges, viii. 10. † Ib. vii. 12.

an assemblage of confederate Bedouins, composed of Midian and its allies. By the Amalekites, we are to understand the tribes of Esau generally; who, as will hereafter be shown, stretched from the land of Edom eastward, across the neck of the Arabian peninsula, or, parallel with the settlements of Ishmael, "from Shur to Havilah." By "the children of the east," are apparently intended the other Abrahamic tribes, inhabitants of "the east country*;" but peculiarly the Kedarites, styled emphatically, in the Book of Jeremiah, "the men of the east†," and who lay south of Midian, along the Arabian Gulf, to the confines of Yemen. With these various stocks, the Midianites, according to the scriptural accounts, would plainly appear to have lived intermixed. It remains to pursue, in both directions, the local vestiges of this widely-extended race.

The following is the Mosaic catalogue of the sons of Midian: "and the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and Hanoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah." A national usage of the Arabs, the practice of denominating their districts and towns from the tribes which inhabit, or which anciently inhabited them, gives peculiar value to the evidence of their local names. Hence, the occurrence of patriarchal names as local denominations,

* Gen. xxv. 6. † Jer. xlix. 28.

whether in the ancient or the modern geography of the country, is alone equivalent to an historical verification: especially where, as in the present case, such local denominations occur in the midst of other known settlements of the children of Keturah. The name of the eldest of the sons of Midian is an example in point.

EPHAH. — "The multitude of camels shall cover thee; the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah."* This prophecy of Isaiah, which historically authenticates the existence of Ephah as an Arab Bedouin tribe, contains, at the same time, a significant mark of its geographical position. According to the received rules for the adjustment and elucidation of the geography of Scripture, the mention of Ephah along with Midian proves them neighbouring tribes†; while the order of this mention further indicates, that Ephah lay south of Midian, or more remote from Jerusalem. Midian, we have seen, extended southward, at least as far as the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba. If Dr. Wells's rule be correct, we must, therefore, look for Ephah, beyond the Midianites, along the coast towards Hedjaz. Now, on the confines of the Hedjaz, immediately north of the great head-land of Ras *Edom*, will be seen, in d'Anville's map, the name of Ephah, preserved

* Isaiah, lx. 6. † See Wells, Rule 6. vol. i. p. 56.

in that of a watering-station on this coast, which bears, at this day, the expressive denomination, *Makar Efa*, or "The wells of Ephah." The coincidence in name is sustained by that of site: Makar Efa, as the wording of the passage of Isaiah would lead us to anticipate, lying south of Midian, between it and the country of Kedar. In confirmation of these strong local evidences, it is most deserving of remark, that, conformably with the description of Isaiah, the Arabs of this coast are famous for their breed of *dromedaries**; a species which seems to be peculiar to these parts.

EPHER. — No further mention of this Midianite patriarch occurs in the Old Testament; nor any notice of a tribe bearing his name. The name of Epher, however, (and it is the just remark of a learned German writer, that "the resemblance of names is *a certain guide*, in comparing the modern and ancient geography of Asia,") is discernible in that of Shor *Afar*, a town on the coast of Midian, midway between Midian and Ailah, at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. From this local landmark of Epher, in our modern maps, we ascend to trace his footsteps over a wide field, in the ancient geography

* Τὴν ὅλην χώραν περιπολοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δρομάδων καμήλων.— Diod. Sic. B. 11. lib. iii. p. 292.

of Arabia. At the head of the Elanitic Gulf, or Bahr Akaba, Ptolemy notices a people called Pharanitæ; who seem to have extended to the termination of the peninsula of Sinai, the site of his Pharan civitas, and Pharan promontorium, (Tor, and Ras Mohammed); and to have given name to "the wilderness of Paran." The contraction of *Epher* into *Phar*, and the change of *Phar*, by nunnation, to *Pharan*, are variations of every-day occurrence in the proper names of Arabia. And when, to the coincidence of name, we add the consideration, that the Pharanitæ were seated in the midst of "the land of Midian," we safely reach the conclusion that, in this name, we possess the classical equivalent for *the sons of Epher*. The interchangeableness, in Scripture, of the names, *Midianites*, and *Ishmaelites*, derives striking illustration, from the intermixture of the two races, here brought to light, in that wilderness of Paran, which was at once the seat of Midian, and the cradle of the race of Ishmael.

HANOCH. — The site of Ephah, the first-born of Midian, and of his posterity, indicated more generally by the testimony of Scripture, has been traced topographically in the name of Makar Efa, or the wells of Ephah, a station or watering-place on the confines of Hedjaz. This

verification will, at the same time, give and borrow light, when compared with the topographic vestiges of Hanoch, the third son of Midian, which we shall now recover in the immediate neighbourhood of Makar Efa. Due north of this station, and of Djebel Sheick (the Hippos mons of Ptolemy), the name of Hanoch is preserved to this day, in that of Hanak, or Hankkrue, (a corruption, not improbably, of the united names of Hanoch and Keturah,) a considerable town, at the northern foot of Djebel Sheick. East of Hanek, again, and more than half-way between it and Maadan al Nokra (a site already adjudged to the posterity of Medan), the name of Hanoch reappears, in that of Henekeh, or Hanake, another considerable place, situated N. N. E. of Medina, upon the caravan route across the desert to Basra.

In the tract of country here brought under review, or the southern border of the Mosaic "land of Midian," the actual local denominations of Makar Ephah, Hanek, Henekeh or Hanake, and Madan, form a chain of Keturite names, which it would be equally difficult for chance to bring together, and for scepticism to disperse. In the judgment of impartial inquirers, it is believed that further proof of their origin will not be desired, than that arising from the occurrence

of such an assemblage (in a country the names of whose localities have been immemorially derived from those of the tribes inhabiting them), in continuous line, along the southern frontier of the scriptural seats of Midian. We return to the north, in search of the seats of . . .

ABIDAH.—The name and tribe of this Midianite patriarch become conspicuously visible, on comparison of the ancient with the modern geography of Arabia, at the opposite extremities, north and south, of the settlements of Keturah. These verifications are the more important, as, at once, complete in themselves, and as throwing the lights of their more perfect evidence upon all intermediate verifications of the other Midianitish tribes.

To begin on their northern borders. The ground here is so firm, that we can afford to walk rapidly over it. From the Mosaic accounts it is certain, that the Midianites ascended northward, at least as high as the border of Moab, and the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. But it is a fact familiar to most readers, that the Arab tribes of the north own no fixed boundaries. In every age, they have pitched camps, and possessed settlements, alternately by the Euphrates, or in the Hauran; at the head of the Arabian Gulf, or at the foot of the Libanus. In the direction last

named, under the range of the Anti-Libanus, we discover, accordingly, in Ptolemy, the city of *Abida;* a place preserving to the letter, in its unaltered integrity, the proper name of *Abidah*, the fourth of the sons of Midian. That the name of this city was derived from the Keturite Abidah, and that the city itself was a chief seat of his tribe, might fairly be inferred, both from the coincidence of name, and from the neighbourhood of the place to other known settlements of Midian and Keturah. But the matter-of-fact existence of Abidah, as a people of Arabia, which might thus be deduced, by fair inference, from Ptolemy, is brought to a demonstration, in an opposite direction, by the recent and authoritative researches of Burckhardt. Under the article, *Asshurim*, I have already argued the identity of the Asyr Arabs of Yemen, with those descendants from Keturah by the line of Jokshan and Dedan. It remains to state, in confirmation of this conclusion, and in completion of the insulated proof of the existence of *Abidah*, also, as an Arab tribe, supplied by the *Abida* of Ptolemy, that the country south of the Asyr mountains, in the direction of Sanaa, is, for several days' journey, the seat of the *Abyda* Arabs; one of the chief tribes of Yemen, which, together with the Asyr and Omran, preserves, in this remote

quarter, to the present day, the names and memories of "the children of Keturah."

Mr. Burckhardt, without any reference to the scriptural origin of the name, notices Wakasha, Wady Yaowd, and Howd Ibn Zyad, as towns of the Abyda Arabs; which tribe, like that of Asyr, gives name to the entire district which it inhabits. This fact, also, we obtain incidentally from Burckhardt; who speaks of "the town of Aryn, in a very fertile territory, *in the district of Abyda.*" * The position of Aryn, nearly a degree to the west of Wakasha and Wady Yaowd, may convey to the reader a general idea of the extent, from east to west, in this quarter of Arabia, of the settlements of Abidah.

ELDAAH.—The preceding verifications of the settlements of the Ketureans generally, and especially of those of Midian, both in the north and south of the Arabian peninsula, render the completion of this branch of our subject a comparatively easy task. The posterity of Abidah, and their seats in both quarters, having been restored from Ptolemy and Burckhardt, this restoration forms a natural clue to guide our researches after the family and dwelling-places of his next brother, Eldaah, the youngest of the five sons of Midian.

* Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 375.

It has been proved, from the Old Testament, that the Midianites, in the age of Moses, inhabited the country bordering on Moab, or the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. Now, in the latitude of Mount Hor, 30° 50″, may be discerned in Ptolemy vestiges of the name and tribe of *Eldaah*, in his *Audia* or *Ludia ;* a town of Arabia Petræa, in the vicinity of Medaba *, forming the connecting link of the northern settlements of Midian, between Abida, at the foot of the Anti-Libanus, and Madian or Modiana, at the head of the Red Sea.

In the opposite, or southern direction, corresponding vestiges of this Midianite name and race may be traced, with good probability, in *Dahban* (*Beni-Daah*); a chief town of the mountains of Yemen, long a seat of the Joktanites, or Beni Kahtan, but bearing strong marks, from the nomenclature of the surrounding localities, of having been originally a settlement of the Ketureans. It will be held in mind, in corroboration of this, and of every similar restoration, that the towns and districts of Ye-

* The geographical position of Ludia had been determined in the text, on the single authority of Ptolemy. The above passage had but just been written, when, turning from my desk to Burckhardt's map of Syria, I found the Ludia of Ptolemy precisely where I had been led to place it, at the western foot of Mount Hor, in the existing town of *Eldii* or *Eldji* — obviously the *Eldaah* of Genesis, and in the heart of the country of Midian.

men have been always denominated from the tribes who inhabit them. And as Kataba, or *Katabana*, was certainly so called, after its inhabitants the *Beni Kahtan*, it follows, that the similarly-formed name *Dahban* may be derived, with equal verisimilitude, from *Beni Daah*, or *Eldaah*. The reader can determine for himself how far the value of this evidence of names is augmented by the geographical position of Dahban, when apprized that this town, though belonging, at present, to the Beni Kahtan Arabs, lies centrally between the Keturite tribes of the Asyr, on the north, and, on the south, of the Omran and Abyda. It seems scarcely possible to carry evidence of the kind higher, than we have been enabled to carry the proof of the identity of the Abyda Arabs of Yemen, with the family of Abidah, the grandson of Keturah by Midian: the existence of this name and family having been geographically traced, from the first notice of it by Moses, through Ptolemy and Burckhardt, to the present day. The further identification of Dahban, on the confines of the district of Abyda, with Beni Daah, or the sons of Eldaah, has this consideration in its favour, that it unites most naturally, and, therefore, most probably, upon the same soil, the families and fortunes of the youngest two sons of Midian.

ISHBAK.—In the valley named Wady Nedjd, upon the line of the Roman road to Akaba, and about ten miles N.N.E. of the *Eldii* of Burckhardt, (a name which identifies itself with the *Audia* or *Ludia* of Ptolemy, and with the *Eldaah* of the Old Testament,) is seated the ancient town and castle of *Shobak;* a place of strength memorable in the history of the crusades; especially for the daring achievements of its feudal lord, the renowned "Arnald, or Reginald of Chatillon, who, in the age of Saladin, and of our first Richard, issuing from his fastness on the border of the Arabian desert, 'pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.'"

The name *Shobak* so manifestly corresponds with the proper name *Ishbak*, and its site so immediately connects name and place with other settlements of Keturah, that we may fairly assume the probability, that, in Shobak, we possess the seat of the posterity of Ishbak. Indeed the two names are identical. For the Arabic word needs only the addition of the article, to make it literally one with the Hebrew. That it was spelt anciently, and still continues to be spelt, with the article prefixed, shall now be shown from the concurrent, though wholly independent, authorities of Ptolemy, and of Bohadin, the his-

torian of Saladin. The Shoba*k* of modern geography is by Ptolemy termed *Sebounta* or *Esbuta*. The Arabic termination corrects that of the Alexandrine geographer, and restores, in his Esbuta, the Ishbak of Genesis. The historian of Saladin, by preserving the article, confirms Ptolemy's reading *Esbuta* (for *Esbuka*), as the true name: the *Al Shaubak* of Bohadin (pronounced *Asshaubak*) being the nearest approximation of which the kindred idioms are capable, to the Hebrew proper name, *Ishbak*. Shobak, we have seen, is within a few hours of Eldii, and in the heart of the land of Midian. Its neighbourhood thus combines with its name to countenance the belief, that, in this fortress of the wilderness, we regain the primitive seat of the posterity of Ishbak, the fifth of the children of Keturah.

SHUAH.—"Now when Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the *Shuhite*, and Zophar the Naamathite: for they had made an appointment together, to come to mourn with him, and to comfort him."*

The mention of Bildad the *Shuhite*, in this and other passages of the book of Job, is a de-

* Job, ii. 11.

cisive proof of the existence, in the northern desert, of an Arab tribe, descendants of *Shuah*, the youngest son of Keturah. Inquiry, therefore, should be directed, not to the existence, but to the geographical position, in the desert Arabia, of the *Beni Shuah*. Upon this point, the classical geographers throw no light. The country of Bildad the Shuhite, and of his tribe, must be gathered, therefore, by inference from the geography of the book of Job itself, illustrated by incidental notices in the prophetic Scriptures. The site of the country of Job has been long matter of learned controversy; yet upon most insufficient grounds. For it seems generally agreed that he was an Edomite: and the differences of opinion respecting his place of abode have been chiefly caused, by the inadequate notions of commentators respecting the extent of the settlements of Esau. In the next section, I hope to demonstrate, that the Edomites, like the Ishmaelites, stretched quite across Arabia Deserta. If so, the site of "the land of Uz" must be determined by collateral evidences: it having plainly no necessary connection (as has been erroneously taken for granted by most critics) with the neighbourhood of Mount Seir; the Edom usually intended by the writers of the Old Testament.

Elsewhere I hope to establish, what I shall for the present assume, that the country of Job lay on the eastern side of the peninsula, adjoining Chaldea: in other words, that the land of Uz is the same with that of the Æsitæ of Ptolemy. This point taken for granted, we must naturally look towards the neighbourhood of Chaldea and the Euphrates for the habitations of the patriarch's three friends. That these were near neighbours, not only to Job, but to each other, appears from the fact of their being sufficiently at hand "*to make an appointment together*, to come to mourn with him, and to comfort him." The place of Zophar, the Naamathite, I have not succeeded in tracing. But, assuming Job to have lived among the Æsitæ, Eliphaz the *Temanite* may, with great probability, be considered a citizen of *Thema*, according to Ptolemy, the capital of the Æsitæ: and the abode of Bildad the Shuhite, although less definitely fixed, may be assigned to the Chaldean border; as will appear from the following passage of Ezekiel: "And I will bring them against thee on every side: the Babylonians, and *all the Chaldeans**, Pekod, and *Shoa*, and Koa; and all the Assy-

* This expression indicates, what Isaiah directly affirms, that the Chaldeans were a mixed race, formed from different Arab tribes. Compare Isaiah, xxiii. 13.

rians with them."* The Sabeans, who destroyed Job's servants, and took away his cattle, it has been already shown, were the Keturite Bedouins of Sheba; an Arab tribe seated on the confines of Chaldea. But one branch of the family of Keturah being found in this quarter, we are plainly authorized to refer the adjoining tribe of Shoa, here introduced by the prophet, to the same Abrahamic stock; thus identifying the *Shoa* of Ezekiel with the *Shuhites* of Job, or the posterity of *Shuah*, the fifth and youngest of "the children of Keturah."

In the wide and rapid survey now taken, the families of Keturah have been traced, geographically, from Abida, at the foot of the Anti-Libanus, through Midian, along the western side of the Arabian peninsula, to the Asyr and Abida tribes and districts of Yemen, and as far as the settlements of the Omran Arabs, in the neighbourhood of Sanaa; while, along its eastern side, they have been followed, from the Sabeans and Shuhites of Chaldea and the Euphrates, to Katura, and the Katuræi, at the southern extremity of the Persian Gulf. Their seats in Chaldea, by the Euphrates, leave room for one very remarkable restoration, with which we may appropriately conclude. The *Shoa* and *Koa*, mentioned to-

* Ezek. xxiii. 22, 23.

gether by the prophet Ezekiel, were manifestly neighbouring Arab tribes of Chaldea. The site of Koa can be accurately determined from Ptolemy. For this tribe were inhabitants of Ptolemy's *Ur-choa*, a city placed by him in the centre of the ancient Chaldea. Now the *Ur-choa* of the Alexandrine geographer, as the name and site combined to indicate, is no other than the scriptural "Ur of the Chaldees;" the land of the nativity of Abraham and his forefathers. And thus, in the *Shoa* of the prophet, we are enabled to retrace a branch of his posterity, by Shuah and Keturah, to the parent soil of "the father of the faithful."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

London:
Printed by A. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

BOUND
MAR 28 1934
UNIV. OF MICH.
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 06548 7681